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"PEN-PORTRAITS AND CHARACTER SKETCHES"
ETC.



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NOTE

IN preparing this new edition of Captain William Dampier's *Voyages* I have tried to make as little alteration as possible in the original text. It has been necessary, however, to abridge considerably, and to modernize the style and grammar occasionally to suit school requirements. I have incorporated a certain amount of subject-matter from the author's "Supplement" in order to provide a continuous account and to include the very valuable description of a trading voyage to Tonquin.

A. E. M. B.

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INTRODUCTION

THE book you are about to read is a record of adventure, and has the advantage of being true. In these days a voyage round the world is hardly considered wonderful, but in the seventeenth century it was something of an achievement. There were all sorts of dangers to be encountered which were peculiar to the age of sailing-ships. One never knew exactly how long a particular journey would take, so that there was always a risk of provisions running short. Storms were an even greater terror. The various oceans were less well known than now, and were often inaccurately charted. Added to these was the danger of meeting enemy vessels or local pirates. Such perils made the life of a sailor a hundred and fifty years ago a long series of adventures.

Those were the days of buccaneering, and this book is, in part, the actual diary of a buccaneer. It is interesting for various reasons, not the least being that it was often in danger of destruction, for its author went through many hardships. He must have had great difficulty in writing amid the disorderly crew of a privateering vessel in the seventeenth century. But Dampier was no ordinary buccaneer whose chief aims in life were plunder and debauchery. He tells us that he hated drunkenness, and one gathers that he took little pride in the wild life he shared with his comrades. While they were spending their money in drinking-shops ashore he found something better to do. A shrewd observer of men and customs, he noted down in his journal all kinds of useful information regarding the life of native peoples, their dress, their occupations, their

amusements, their religion, and their trade. As a travel book Dampier's *Voyages* is extraordinarily informative, for the simple reason that its writer was keenly interested in people and things. He never failed to jot down details of beasts, birds, trees, or any other objects that appealed to him by reason of their novelty. For this reason his work has a certain value for the student of natural history.

You will find, too, that Dampier has many interesting things to say about East Indian trade, from which you may obtain useful information concerning English, French, and Dutch 'factories,' and the conditions under which commerce was carried on toward the end of the seventeenth century.

But perhaps most important of all is the reputation achieved by Dampier as a sailor. There is plenty of evidence in this book to show that he was a skilled navigator. He made constant observations of winds and currents, and he prepared charts and soundings, all of which proved of great value to the science of navigation.¹ On more than one occasion he was consulted as an expert by the Admiralty. His work was not only informative, but exact, and many tributes have been paid to him as a navigator by seamen and geographers of various nations. "It is not easy," says Admiral Burney, "to name another voyager or traveller who has given more useful information to the world; to whom the merchant and mariner are so much indebted; or who has communicated his information in a more unembarrassed and intelligible manner."

The following brief sketch will give some idea of his interesting and varied life.

William Dampier was the son of a Somersetshire farmer, and was born in 1652. He was educated at the Yeovil

¹ Dampier wrote a valuable *Discourse on Winds, Storms, Tides, and Currents in the Torrid Zone*.

Latin School, afterward receiving special instruction in arithmetic and writing. In 1669 he became apprenticed to a Weymouth master mariner, who took him on a voyage to Newfoundland. Dampier did not complete his apprenticeship, however, and in 1671 sailed to the East Indies. Two years later we find him serving in the Dutch wars aboard H.M.S. *Royal Prince*, the flagship of Sir Edward Spragge. He took part in two engagements, but ill-health obliged him to come ashore and live several months in the country. The next year he was sent out to Jamaica to take the post of under-manager in a plantation. He soon engaged in the coasting trade, and made two voyages to the Bay of Campeachy, where he remained for some time with the log-wood cutters. He returned to Jamaica, and then, in 1678, proceeded to England. The following year saw the beginning of Dampier's buccaneering life, which lasted (with the exception of one short interval at Virginia) till May 1688. The adventures belonging to this period, together with his subsequent voyages in the East Indies and return to England in 1691, are related in this volume.

Afterward Dampier was probably engaged in the merchant service, and in 1699 was appointed by the Admiralty to command the *Roebuck*, a sloop of twelve guns with a crew of sixty men, on a voyage to explore the coasts of Australia. In the course of this cruise he circumnavigated New Guinea.

We next hear of him as commander of the *St George*, privateering in the South Seas in company with a Captain Stradling, and returning *via* the East Indies in 1707, after suffering several months' imprisonment in a Dutch factory.

His last and perhaps most romantic voyage was a cruise round the world as pilot to Woodes Rogers with the Bristol privateers, *The Duke* and *The Duchess*. This expedition lasted from 1708 till 1711, and is noted especially for the liberation of Alexander Selkirk from Juan

Fernandez, where he had been marooned by Stradling over four years before, for the plundering of Guiaquil, and the taking of several rich prizes.

On his return Dampier probably resumed work in the customs. He died in March 1715.

A NOTE ON BUCCANEERS

THE buccaneers about whom we read in Dampier's *Voyages* were piratical adventurers of different nationalities united in their opposition to Spain, whom they regarded as a common enemy. This hatred, however, goes back a long way before the seventeenth century. You have read of English sea-dogs in the time of Elizabeth, and have been stirred by the exploits of such famous sailors as Drake, Hawkins, and Davis, who turned piracy to good account in the interests of Britain. Engaged in a kind of semi-private war against the Spaniards they returned after perilous voyages with holds crammed full of wealth wrested from Spanish merchantmen, or taken from towns they had raided and sacked in the New World.

But whence came the curious name of 'buccaneers' for such seamen adventurers? It arose in this way. Early in the sixteenth century the island of St Domingo (in the West Indies), which had been colonized by the Spaniards, had become almost depopulated. The few remaining settlers, resenting the monopolies imposed by the mother country, welcomed foreign traders, who made the island a kind of provisioning centre. This was all the more easy because large herds of wild cattle roamed freely over it, and fresh meat was always welcome to the sailor. But a new industry soon developed. The native Indians had a method of 'boucanning,' or smoke-drying, the flesh of oxen. The European adventurers learned it, and turned it into a lucrative trade. They would seize a herd of cattle, preserve the meat, and sell it to passing ships. The French

dubbed them 'boucaniers,' a word derived from the Indian 'boucan' meaning the hut or apparatus used in curing the stolen meat.

It is important to note that the buccaneers were alternately sailors, hunters, and even planters, fond of the pleasures of a roving life, and united by a common hatred of Spain. After a time they gave up their 'butchering trade' and branched out into open piracy, capturing all Spanish ships they could board and overpower.

In 1625 a combined venture on behalf of the buccaneers was made by the Governments of England and France, who planted settlers on the island of St Christopher. But the English and French were none too friendly, and in 1629, after many of the former had retired to an adjoining island, the Spaniards were able to disperse the colonists who remained. The French soon returned, however, and their countrymen were also encouraged to settle in St Domingo, which remained as a hunting-ground for cattle after Tortuga was seized in 1630 and used as a storehouse.

The latter island was laid waste by the Spaniards while its fighting population was at sea, but eventually became a French colony, and none but French buccaneers were permitted to resort thither.

The English rovers, therefore, were obliged to seek another haunt. They found one ready to hand in Jamaica, captured by Cromwell's navy under Penn and Venables in 1655; and in return for their assistance in repulsing Spanish attempts to recover the island in 1657 and 1658 were countenanced by the English Governor. From this time Jamaica became their headquarters, and developed into one of the wealthiest, but at the same time one of the most degraded, seaports in the West Indies.

The buccaneers now formed a kind of mercenary navy ready for employ by any nation against Spain. They are

often referred to by Dampier and others as 'privateers,' who received a commission from a Government or its representatives to attack Spanish ships in return for a share of the plunder. For daring, cruelty, and skill in seamanship these sailors have never been surpassed. One of the most notorious of their leaders was the terrible Henry Morgan. Under his rule the buccaneers were organized into some kind of discipline. His great ambition was to undertake with their aid no less an enterprise than the conquest of the whole of the Spanish Americas. His first attempt was on Porto Bello, which he "captured, looted, and left a wilderness of desolation." The fame of this exploit brought a whole army of recruits to his flag, and caused alarm to the English Government, who in 1670 made a treaty with Spain withdrawing commissions to privateers. This was an attempt to suppress buccaneering altogether, but it did not succeed—Morgan saw to that. Organizing a general revolt, he promptly crossed to the mainland with a fleet of thirty-nine ships and an army of 2000 men. This time his aim was Panama, the stronghold of Spanish power in America. Ten days' march lay between him and his goal, but in spite of the shortage of provisions and difficulties of the route, his followers pressed forward, and after a pitched battle succeeded in capturing the town. Panama was sacked and burned. The spoil was immense: the adventurers returned with 170 mules laden with gold, silver, and jewels. Morgan's success, however, had aroused the jealousy of his comrades, who made plans to depose him. But before these could materialize he sailed for England with the greater part of the plunder in his possession, and by virtue of his wealth and notoriety gained the favour of Charles II, who knighted him and set him to rule his own buccaneering headquarters. Thus Sir Henry Morgan became Governor of Jamaica and turned respectable! He is said to have hanged so many of his old

comrades that piracy soon began to wane,¹ and by the time of his death the buccaneers had become almost extinct as a class.

Dampier's association with various privateers, including Captain Coxon, Sawkins, Sharp, Watling, and others is briefly related in the earlier part of this book. It may be safely assumed that he was a buccaneer more by accident than design, and had few of the vices which made the name *notorious*. Nevertheless, the record of his adventures is interesting as throwing considerable light upon privateering activities several years after Morgan's defection. To understand the various causes which led to the decline of buccaneering it is necessary to study the political history of Europe. By the end of Dampier's life, however, the calling had lost its romance, and degenerated into petty piracy.

¹ According to an old historian, "Sir Henry much distinguished himself by the vigilance and severity with which he suppressed those unlawful bodies of pirates called buccaneers."

DAMPIER'S VOYAGES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

I FIRST set out of England on this voyage at the beginning of the year 1679, in the *Loyal Merchant* of London, bound for Jamaica, Captain Knapman Commander. I went a passenger, designing when I came thither, to go from thence to the Bay of Campeachy, in the Gulf of Mexico, to cut logwood ; where in a former voyage I had spent about three years in that employ, and so was well acquainted with the place and the work.

We sailed with a prosperous gale without any impediment or remarkable passage in our voyage, and arrived safe at Port Royal in Jamaica some time in April 1679, and went immediately ashore.

I had brought some goods with me from England, which I intended to sell here, and stock myself with rum and sugar, saws, axes, hats, stockings, shoes, and such other commodities as I knew would sell among the Campeachy logwood cutters. Accordingly I sold my English cargo at Port Royal ; but upon some maturer considerations of my intended voyage to Campeachy I changed my thoughts of that design, and continued at Jamaica all that year, in expectation of some other business.

I was just embarking myself for England, about Christmas, 1679, when one Mr Hobby invited me to go first a short trading voyage to the country of the Mosquitoes, of whom I shall speak in my first chapter. I was willing to

get up some money before my return, having laid out what I had at Jamaica, so I went on board with Mr Hobby.

Soon after our setting out we came to anchor again in Negril Bay, at the west end of Jamaica ; but finding there Captain Coxon, Sawkins, Sharp, and other privateers, Mr Hobby's men all left him to go with them upon an expedition they had contrived, leaving not one with him besides myself ; and being thus left alone, after three or four days' stay with Mr Hobby, I was the more easily persuaded to go with them too.

It was shortly after Christmas, 1679, when we set out. The first expedition was to Portobel,¹ which being accomplished, it was resolved to march by land over the Isthmus of Darien, upon some new adventures in the South Seas. Accordingly on the 5th of April, 1680, we went ashore on the Isthmus near Golden Island, one of the Sambaloes,² to the number of between three and four hundred men, carrying with us such provisions as were necessary, and toys wherewith to gratify the wild Indians through whose country we were to pass. In about nine days' march we arrived at Santa Maria and took it, and after a stay there of about three days, we went on to the South Sea coast, and there embarked in such canoas³ and periaguas⁴ as our Indian friends furnished us with. We were in sight of Panama by the 23rd of April, and having in vain attempted Puebla Nueva, before which Sawkins, then commander-in-chief, and others were killed, we made some stay at the neighbouring Isles of Quibo.

Here we resolved to change our course, and stand away

¹ Porto Bello, on the north coast of the Isthmus, a fine harbour, and at this time a wealthy city in spite of its being sacked eleven years previously by Henry Morgan.

² Now called the Mulatas.

³ 'Dug-out' canoes with pointed ends.

⁴ 'Dug-outs' with flat sterns.

to the southward for the coast of Peru. Accordingly we left the Keys or Isles of Quibo on the 6th of June, and spent the rest of the year in that southern course; for touching at the Isles of Gorgona and Plata, we came to Ylo, a small town on the coast of Peru, and took it. This was in October, and in November we went thence to Coquimbo, on the same coast, and about Christmas were got as far as the Isle of John Fernando, which was the farthest of our course to the southward.

After Christmas we went back again to the northward, having a design upon Arica, a strong town advantageously situated in the hollow of the elbow, or bending of the Peruvian coast. But being there repulsed with great loss, we continued our course northward, till by the middle of April we were come in sight of the Isle of Plata, a little to the southward of the equinoctial line.

I have related this part of my voyage thus concisely because the world has accounts of it already in the relations that Mr Ringrose and others have given of Captain Sharp's expedition, who was made chief commander upon Sawkins' being killed. All therefore that I have to add to the introduction is this: that while we lay at the Isle of John Fernando Captain Sharp was by general consent displaced from being commander, the company not being satisfied either with his courage or behaviour. In his stead Captain Watling was advanced; but he being killed shortly after Arica, we were without a commander during all the rest of our return towards Plata. Now Watling being killed, a great number of the meaner sort began to be as earnest for choosing Captain Sharp again into the vacancy, as before they had been as forward as any to turn him out. On the other side, the abler and more experienced men, being altogether dissatisfied with his former conduct, would by no means consent to have him chosen. In short, by the time we were come in sight of the Island Plata, the dif-

ference between the contending parties was grown so high, that they resolved to part companies ; having first made an agreement that whichever party should, upon polling, appear to have the majority should keep the ship, and the other should content themselves with the launch or long-boat, and canoas, and return over the Isthmus, or go to seek their fortune other ways, as they would.

Accordingly we put it to the vote ; and upon dividing, Captain Sharp's party carried it. I, who had never been pleased with his management, though I had hitherto kept my mind to myself, now declared myself on the side of those that were out-voted ; and according to our agreement, we took our share of such necessaries as were fit to carry overland with us, (for that was our resolution) and so prepared for our departure.

CHAPTER II

LANDING IN DARIEN

ON April 17, 1681, about ten o'clock in the morning, being twelve leagues N.W. from the Island Plata, we left Captain Sharp and those who were willing to go with him in the ship, and embarked in our launch and canoas, designing for the River of Santa Maria, in the Gulf of St Michael, which is about two hundred leagues from the Isle of Plata. We were in number forty-four white men who bore arms, a Spanish Indian, also armed, two Mosquito Indians, who always bear arms amongst the privateers, and are much valued by them for striking fish, turtle, and manatee (or sea-cow), and five slaves taken in the South Seas, who fell to our share.

The craft which carried us was a launch, or long-boat, one canoa, and another canoa which had been sawn asunder in the middle in order to have made bumkins, or vessels for carrying water, if we had not separated from our ship. This we joined together again, and made it tight, providing sails to help us along. For three days before we parted, we sifted as much flour as we could well carry, and rubbed up twenty or thirty pounds of chocolate with sugar to sweeten it. These things and a kettle the slaves carried on their backs after we landed. And because there were some who designed to go with us that we knew were not well able to march, we gave out that if any man faltered in the journey overland he must expect to be shot to death ; for we knew that the Spaniards would soon be after us, and one man falling into their hands might

be the ruin of us all, by giving an account of our strength and condition. Yet this would not deter them from coming with us. We had but little wind when we parted from the ship ; but before twelve o'clock the sea-breeze came in strong, and was like to founder us before we got to the shore. For our security, therefore, we cut up an old dry hide that we brought with us, and barricaded the launch all round with it to keep the water out. About ten o'clock at night it became calm, and we lay and drove all night, being fatigued the preceding day. On the 18th at seven o'clock we came abreast of Cape Passao, and found a small bark at anchor to the north of the Cape. This we took, our own boats being too small to transport us. She was not only a help to us, but in taking her we were safe from being described ; for we had no intention of meddling with or even seeing any if we could have helped it. The bark came from Gallio laden with timber, and was bound for Guayaquil.

On the twenty-ninth day, at nine o'clock in the morning, we came to anchor at Point Garrachina, about seven leagues from the Gulf of St Michael, which was the place where we first came into the South Seas, and the way by which we designed to return.

Here we lay all day, and went ashore and dried our clothes, cleaned our guns, dried our ammunition, and fixed ourselves against our enemies if we should be attacked, for we expected to find some opposition at landing.

Next morning at eight o'clock we came into the Gulf of St Michael's mouth ; for we put from Point Garrachina in the evening, designing to have reached the islands in the gulf before day ; that we might the better work our escape from our enemies, if we should find any of them waiting to stop our passage.

About nine o'clock we came to anchor a mile without a

large island which lies four miles from the mouth of the river ; but would not adventure further till we had looked well about us.

We immediately sent a canoa ashore on the island, where we saw (what we always feared) a ship at the mouth of the river, lying close by the shore, and a large tent by it, by which we found it would be a hard task for us to escape them. When the canoa came aboard with this news, some of our men were a little disheartened ; but it was no more than I ever expected.

Our care was now to get safe overland, seeing we could not land here according to our desire. Therefore before the tide of flood was spent, we manned our canoa and rowed again to the island, to see if the enemy was yet in motion. When we came ashore we dispersed ourselves all over the island, to prevent our enemies from coming any way to view us, and presently after high water we saw a small canoa coming over from the ship to the island that we were on. This made us all get into our canoa and wait their coming ; and we lay close till they came within pistol-shot of us, and then being ready, we started out and took them. There were in her one white man and two Indians ; who, being examined, told us that the ship which we saw at the river's mouth had lain there six months guarding the river, waiting for our coming ; that she had twelve guns and 150 seamen and soldiers ; that the seamen all lay aboard, but the soldiers lay ashore in their tent ; that there were 300 men at the mines, who had all small arms, and would be aboard in two tides' time. They likewise told us that there were two ships cruising in the Bay, between this place and Gorgonia ; the biggest had twenty guns and 200 men, the other ten guns and 150 men. Besides all this they told us that the Indians on this side of the country were our enemies ; which was the worst news of all. However, we presently brought these prisoners

aboard, and got under sail, turning out with the tide of ebb, for it was not convenient to stay longer there.

We did not long consider what to do ; but intended to land that night, or the next day betimes ; for we did not question but we should either get a good commerce with the Indians, by such toys as we had purposely brought with us, or else force our way through their country in spite of their opposition ; and we did not fear what these Spaniards could do, in case they should land and come after us. We had a strong southerly wind, which blew right in ; and the tide of ebb being far spent, we could not turn out.

I tried to persuade them to run into the River of Congo, which is a large river about three leagues from the island where we lay ; which with a southerly wind we could have done, and when we got as high as the tide flows, then we might have landed. But all the arguments I could use were not of sufficient force to convince them that there was a large river so near us.

When we had rowed and towed against the wind all night, we just got round Cape St Lorenzo in the morning ; and sailing about four miles farther to the westward ran into a small creek within two keys, or little islands. We rowed up to the head of the creek—about a mile—and there we landed on May 1, 1681. We got out all our provisions and clothes, and then sank our vessel.

While we were landing and fixing our snapsacks to march, our Mosquito Indians struck a plentiful dish of fish, which we immediately dressed and therewith satisfied our hunger.

Having made mention of the Mosquito Indians, it may not be amiss to conclude this chapter with a short account of them. They are tall, well-made, raw-boned, lusty, strong, and nimble of foot, long-visaged, hard-favoured, with lank black hair and a dark copper-coloured complexion. They are but a small nation or family, not a

hundred men in number, living on the Main on the north side, near Cape Gratia Dios, between Cape Honduras and Nicaragua. They are very ingenious at throwing the lance, fisgig,¹ harpoon, or any manner of dart, being bred to it from their infancy ; for the children never go abroad without a lance in their hands, which they throw at any object, till use has made them masters of the art. Then they learn to put by a lance, arrow, or dart in this manner. Two boys stand at a small distance apart, and dart a blunt stick at one another ; each of them holding a small stick in *his right hand, with which he strikes away that which was* darted at him. As they grow in years they become more dexterous and courageous, and then they will stand a fair mark to anyone that will shoot arrows at them ; which they will put by with a very small stick, no bigger than the ramrod of a fowling-piece ; and when they are grown to be men, they will guard themselves from arrows, though they come very thick at them, provided two do not happen to come at once. They have extraordinarily good eyes, and will descry a sail at sea farther, and see anything better than we. Their chief employment in their own country is to strike fish, turtle, or manatee, the manner of which I shall describe elsewhere.² For this they are esteemed and coveted by all privateers ; for one or two of them in a ship will maintain a hundred men. So that when we careen our ships, we choose commonly such places where there is plenty of turtle or manatee for these Mosquito men to strike ; and it is very rare to find privateers destitute of one or more of them, when the commander, or most of the men are English ; but they do not love the French, and the Spaniards they hate mortally. When they come among privateers they get the use of guns, and prove very good marksmen. They behave themselves very boldly in fight, and never seem to flinch or hang back ; and let their

¹ Harpoon with three or more barbed heads.

² Chapter IV.

disadvantage be never so great, they will never yield while any of their party stand. I could never perceive any religion nor any ceremonies or superstitious observances among them, they being ready to imitate us in whatsoever they saw us do at any time. Only they seem to fear the devil, whom they call Wallesau ; and they say he often appears to their priests when they desire to speak with them on urgent business ; but the rest know nothing of him, nor how he appears, otherwise than as these priests tell them. Yet they all say they must not anger him, for then he will beat them, and that he sometimes carries away their priests. Thus much I have heard from some of them that speak good English.

They marry but one wife, with whom they live till death separates them. At their first coming together, the man makes a very small plantation, for there is land enough, and they may choose what spot they please. They delight to settle near the sea, or by some river, for the sake of striking fish, their beloved employment. After the man has cleared a plot of land and planted it, he seldom minds it afterwards, but leaves the managing of it to his wife, and he goes out a-striking. Sometimes he seeks only for fish, at other times for turtle or manatee, and whatever he gets he brings home to his wife, and never stirs out to seek for more till it is all eaten. When hunger begins to bite, he either takes his canoa and seeks for more game at sea, or walks out into the woods and hunts about for peccary, warree (each a sort of wild hogs), or deer ; and seldom returns empty handed. Their plantations are so small that they cannot subsist on what they produce : for the largest have not above twenty or thirty plantain-trees, a bed of yams and potatoes, a bush of Indian pepper, and a small spot of pine-apples. This last fruit is the main thing they delight in, for with it they make a sort of drink which our men call pine-drink, with which they invite each other to

be merry, providing fish and flesh also. Whoever makes this liquor treats his neighbours, making a little canoa full at a time, enough to make them all drunk. Such feasts are seldom held without the giver having some design, either to be revenged for some injury done him, or to debate of such differences as have happened between him and his neighbours. Yet before they are warmed with drink, they never speak one word of their grievances ; and the women, who commonly know their husbands' designs, prevent them from doing any injury to each other by hiding their lances, harpoons, bows and arrows, or any other weapons that they have.

These Mosquitoes are in general very civil and kind to the English, from whom they receive a great deal of respect, both when they are aboard their ships, and also ashore, either in Jamaica or elsewhere, whither they often come with the seamen. We always humour them, letting them go wherever they will, and return to their country in any vessel bound that way if they please. They will go out in their own little canoa, which our men could not go in without danger of oversetting ; nor will they let any white men accompany them, but will go a-striking in it just as they please. All which we allow them ; for should we cross them, though they should see shoals of fish, turtle, or the like, they will purposely strike their harpoons and turtle-irons aside, or so glance them as to kill nothing.

They have no form of government among them, but acknowledge the King of England for their sovereign. They learn our language, and take the Governor of Jamaica to be one of the greatest princes in the world.

While they are among the English they wear good clothes, and delight to go neat and tight ; but when they return to their own country they put by all their clothes, and follow their own fashion, wearing only a small piece of linen about their waists, hanging down to their knees.

CHAPTER III

OVER THE ISTHMUS

BEING landed on May 1 we began our march about three o'clock in the afternoon, directing our course by our pocket compasses N.E. ; and having gone about two miles, we came to the foot of a hill. Here we built small huts and lay all night, having excessive rains till twelve o'clock.

On the morning of the second day having fair weather we ascended the hill, and found a small Indian path which led us down the hill on the east side, where we presently found several Indian houses. The first that we came to had none but women at home, who could not speak Spanish but gave each of us a good calabash or shell full of corn-drink. The other houses had some men at home, but none that spoke Spanish ; yet we made shift to buy such food as their plantations afforded, which we dressed and ate all together, having all our provision in common, so that none should live better than the others, or pay dearer for anything than it was worth. This day we had marched six miles.

In the evening the husbands of the women came home, and after supper we agreed with one of these Indians to guide us a day's march into the country. He was to have for his pains a hatchet, and his bargain was to bring us to a certain Indian's habitation, who could speak Spanish, and from whom we were in hopes to be better satisfied of our journey.

The third day we began to stir betimes, and set out between six and seven o'clock, marching through several

old ruined plantations. This morning one of our men being tired gave us the slip. By twelve o'clock we had gone eight miles, and arrived at the Indian's house. He lived on the bank of the River Congo, and spoke very good Spanish.

At first he seemed very dubious of entertaining any discourse with us. He told us he knew no way to the north side of the country, but could carry us to Cheapo or Santa Maria, which we knew to be Spanish garrisons, the one lying to the eastward of us, the other to the westward, either of them at least twenty miles out of our way. We could get no other answer from him, and all his discourse was in such an angry tone, as plainly declared he was not our friend. However, we were forced to make a virtue of necessity and humour him, for it was neither time nor place to be angry with the Indians; all our lives lying in their hand.

We were now at a great loss, not knowing what course to take, for we tempted him with beads, money, hatchets, machetes, or long knives; but nothing would work on him till one of our men took a sky-coloured petticoat out of his bag and put it on his wife. She was so pleased with the present that she immediately began to chatter to her husband, and soon brought him into a better humour. He could then tell us that he knew the way to the north side, and would have gone with us, but that he had cut his foot two days before, which made him incapable of serving us himself. But he would take care that we should not want a guide; and therefore he hired the same Indian who had brought us hither to conduct us two days' march further for another hatchet. The old man would have kept us here all the day, because it rained very hard; but our business required more haste, our enemies lying so near us. So we marched three miles further and then built huts where we stayed all night.

The fourth day we began our march betimes, for the forenoons were commonly fair, but there was much rain after noon. Though whether it rained or shone it was much the same to us, for I verily believe we crossed the rivers thirty times this day, the Indians having no paths to travel from one part of the country to another and therefore guiding themselves by the rivers. We marched this day twelve miles, and then built our huts and lay down to sleep; but we always kept two men on the watch, otherwise our slaves might have knocked us on the head while we slept. It rained violently all the afternoon, and most part of the night. We had much ado to kindle a fire this evening, so that we could not dry our clothes and scarcely warm ourselves. Neither had we any sort of food—all which made it very hard with us. I confess these hardships quite expelled the thoughts of an enemy, for now having been four days in the country, we began to have few other cares than how to get guides and food. The Spaniards were seldom in our thoughts.

The fifth day we set out in the morning betimes, and having travelled seven miles in those wild, pathless woods, by ten o'clock in the morning we arrived at a young Spanish Indian's house, who had formerly lived with the Bishop of Panama. The young Indian was very brisk, spoke very good Spanish, and received us very kindly. This plantation afforded us store of provision, yams, and potatoes, but nothing of any flesh, besides two fat monkeys we shot, part whereof we distributed to some of our company who were weak and sickly. For others we got eggs and such refreshments as the Indians had, for we still provided for the sick and weak. We had a Spanish Indian in our company, who first took up arms with Captain Sawkins, and had been with us ever since his death. He was persuaded to live here by the master of the house, who promised him his sister in marriage, to assist him in

clearing a plantation. However, we would not consent to part from him here, for fear of some treachery, but promised to release him in two or three days, when we were certainly out of danger of our enemies. We stayed here all the afternoon, and dried our clothes and ammunition, cleared our guns, and provided ourselves for a march the next morning.

Our surgeon, Mr Wafer, came to a sad disaster here. He was sitting on the ground near one of our men who was drying his gunpowder in a silver plate, with his pipe lighted. The powder blew up and scorched the surgeon's knee to that degree that the bone was left bare and he was unable to march. We therefore allowed him a slave to carry his things, being all of us the more concerned at the accident, because liable ourselves every moment to misfortune, with none but him to look after us.

The sixth day we set out again, having hired another guide. Here we first crossed the River Congo in a canoa, having been from our first landing on the west side of the river, and being over, we marched eastward two miles, and came to another river, which we forded several times, though it was very deep. Two of our men were not able to keep company with us, but came after us as they were able. The last time we forded the river, it was so deep that our tallest men stood in the deepest place and handed the sick, weak, and short men ; by which means we all got over safely, except the two left behind. Foreseeing a necessity of wading through rivers frequently in our land march, I took care before I left the ship to provide myself with a large joint of bamboo, which I stopped at both ends with wax so as to keep out any water. In this I preserved my journal and other writings from the wet, though I was often forced to swim. When we were over this river, we sat down to wait the coming of our companions who were left behind, and in half an hour they came. But the water

by that time was so high that they could not get over it, neither could we help them over, but bade them be of good comfort and stay till the river fell. But we marched two miles farther by the side of the river, and there built our huts, having gone this day six miles. We had scarcely finished our huts before the river rose much higher, and overflowing its banks, obliged us to remove into higher ground. The next night came on before we could build more huts, so we lay straggling in the woods, some under one tree, some under another, as we found convenient. Which might have been fairly comfortable if the weather had been fair ; but the greatest part of the night we had extraordinarily hard rain, with much lightning and terrible claps of thunder. These hardships and inconveniences made us all careless, and there was no watch kept. So our slaves taking their opportunity went away in the night, all but one, who was hid in some hole and knew nothing of their design, or else fell asleep. Those that went away carried with them our surgeon's gun and all his money.

The next morning we went to the river and found it much fallen. Our guide wished us to ford it again, but owing to its depth and the swift-running current we could not. Then we contrived to swim over—except those that were unable to swim, whom we resolved to help as well as we could. But this was not so feasible ; for we should not be able to get all our things over. At length we decided to send one man over with a line to hale over all our goods first, and then get the men across. This being agreed on, one George Gayny took the end of a line and made it fast about his neck, leaving the other end ashore, where one man stood by the line to clear it away to him. But when Gayny was in the midst of the water, the rope in drawing after him chanced to kink or grow entangled and turned him over on his back. The man who held the line threw it all into the river after him, thinking he might recover

himself ; but the stream running very swift, and the man having three hundred dollars at his back, was carried down, and never seen more by us. The two men we left behind the previous day told us afterwards that they found him lying dead in a creek, where the eddy had driven him ashore, and the money on his back ; but they did not meddle with any of it, their only care being how to work their way through a wild unknown country. This was the fourth man that we lost in this land journey, for the two men we left the day before did not come to us till we were in the North Seas, so we gave them also up for lost. Being frustrated of getting over the river this way, we looked about for a tree to fell across it. At length we found one, which we cut down, and it reached clear over. On this we passed to the other side, where we found a small plantain-walk, which we soon ransacked.

While we were busy getting plantains, our guide was gone, but in less than two hours came to us again and brought with him an old Indian, to whom he delivered up his charge. We gave him a hatchet and dismissed him, and put ourselves under the conduct of our new guide, who immediately led us away across another river into a large valley of the richest land I ever saw. The trees were not very thick, but the largest that I noticed in all my travels. We saw great tracks which were made by peccaries, but saw none of the animals themselves. We marched in this pleasant country till three o'clock in the afternoon, in all about four miles, and then arrived at the old man's country house, which was only a habitation for hunting. Here we took up our quarters for the day, and refreshed ourselves with such food as the place afforded, and dried our clothes and ammunition. At this place our young Spanish Indian prepared to leave us, for we now thought ourselves past danger, and we dismissed him according to our promise.

The ninth day the old man conducted us towards his

own habitation. We marched about five miles in this valley, and then ascended a hill and travelled about five miles farther over two or three small hills before we came to any settlement. Half a mile before we came to the plantation we lit on a path, which carried us to the Indians' dwellings. We saw many wooden crosses erected by the way, which gave us the impression that here were some Spaniards. Therefore we newly primed all our guns and prepared ourselves for an enemy ; but coming into the town found none but Indians, who had all got together in a large house to receive us ; for the old man had with him a little boy, whom he sent on before.

They made us welcome to such as they had, which was very little, for these were new plantations, the corn being not yet ripe. Potatoes, yams, and plantains they had none but what they brought from their old plantations. None of them spoke good Spanish. Two young men could speak a little, which caused us to take more notice of them. We made these a present, and desired them to get us a guide to conduct us to the north side, or part of the way. This they promised to do themselves, if we would reward them for it, but told us we must lie still the next day. But we thought ourselves nearer the North Seas than we were, and proposed to go without a guide rather than stay here a whole day. However, some of our men who were tired resolved to stay behind ; and Mr Wafer, our surgeon, who had marched in great pain ever since his knee was burned with powder, decided to stay with them.

The tenth day we got up betimes, resolving to march. The Indians opposed it as much as they could, but seeing they could not persuade us to stay, they came with us ; and having taken leave of our friends, we set out.

Here therefore we left the surgeon and two more, and marched away to the eastward following our guides. But we often looked at our pocket compasses and showed them

to our guides, pointing at the way we wished to go, which made them shake their heads and say they were pretty things but not convenient for us. After we had descended the valley on which the town stood we came down into a valley, and guided ourselves by a river which we crossed thirty-two times ; and having marched nine miles, we built huts and lay there all night. This evening I killed a quam, a large bird as big as a turkey, to which we treated our guides, for we had brought no provision with us. This night our last slave ran away.

The eleventh day we marched ten miles farther, and built huts at night, but went supperless to bed.

In the morning of the twelfth day we crossed a deep river, passing over it on a tree, and marched seven miles in a low swampy ground, till we came to the side of a great deep river which we could not get over. We built huts upon its banks and lay there all night, upon our barbecues, or frames of sticks raised about three feet from the ground.

The thirteenth day, when we turned out, the river had overflowed its banks and was two feet deep in our huts, and our guides left us without telling us their intention, which made us think they had returned home. Now we began to repent our haste in coming from the last settlements, for we had no food since we came from thence. However, we got macawberries in this place, with which we satisfied ourselves after a fashion.

Early next morning our guides came to us again, and the water having fallen within its bounds they carried us to a tree that stood on the bank of the river, telling us that if we could fell that tree across it, we might pass, but if not, we could pass no farther. We therefore set two of the best axe-men we had, who felled it exactly across so that the boughs just reached over ; and on this we passed safely. We afterwards crossed another river three times with much

difficulty, and at three o'clock in the afternoon came to an Indian settlement, where we met a drove of monkeys, and killed four of them, and stayed here all night, having marched this day six miles. Here we got plantains enough, and a kind reception of the Indian that lived here all alone, except for one boy to wait on him.

The fifteenth day when we set out, the kind Indian and his boy went with us in a *canoe*, and set us over such places as we could not ford, not returning till he had helped us at least two miles. We marched afterwards five miles, and came to large plantain walks, where we took up our quarters that night.

The sixteenth day we marched three miles, and came to a large settlement where we abode all day. Not a man of us but wished the journey at an end, our feet being blistered and our thighs stripped with wading through so many rivers. In the afternoon five of us went to seek for game, and killed three monkeys which we dressed for supper. Here we first began to have fair weather, which continued with us till we came to the North Seas.

The eighteenth day we set out at ten o'clock, and the Indians with five *canoes* carried us a league up a river; and when we landed kindly went with us and carried our burdens. We marched three miles farther and then built our huts, having travelled from the last settlements six miles.

The nineteenth day our guides lost their way, and we did not march above two miles.

By twelve o'clock on the twentieth day we came to the River Cheapo. The rivers we had hitherto crossed all run into the South Seas; and this was the last we met with that ran that way. Here an old man who came from the last settlements distributed his load of plantains amongst us, and taking his leave returned home. Afterwards we forded the river, and marched to the foot of a very high

mountain, where we lay all night. This day we marched about nine miles.

The twenty-first day some of our Indians turned back, and we marched up a very high mountain. Having reached the top we went some miles along a ridge, steep on both sides, and then descending a little came to a fine spring, where we lay all night. We had gone this day about nine miles, *the weather being still very fair and clear.*

Next day we marched over another very high mountain, keeping on the ridge five miles. When we came to the north end, to our great comfort we saw the sea. Then we descended, parted ourselves into three companies, and lay by the side of a river—the first we met that runs into the North Sea.

The twenty-third day we came through several large plantain walks and at ten o'clock reached an Indian habitation, not far from the North Sea. Here we got canoas to carry us down the River Conception to the sea-side, having gone this day about seven miles. We found a great many Indians at the mouth of the river. They had settled themselves *here for the sake of trade* with the privateers, and their commodities were yams, potatoes, plantains, sugar, canes, fowls, and eggs.

The Indians told us that there had been a great many English and French ships here, which were all gone except one barcolongo, a French privateer that lay at La Sounds Key or Island. This island is about three leagues from the mouth of the River Conception, and is one of the Sambaloes, which were first made the rendezvous for privateers in 1679, being very convenient for careening.

Thus we finished our journey from the South Sea to the North in twenty-three days, in which time by my account we travelled a hundred and ten miles, crossing some very high mountains, though our march was generally through the valleys among deep and dangerous rivers. At

our first landing in this country we were told that the Indians were our enemies ; we knew the rivers to be deep and the wet season to be coming on ; yet, excepting those we left behind, we lost but one man, who was drowned, as I said. Our first landing-place on the south coast was very disadvantageous, for we travelled at least fifty miles more than we need to have done, could we have gone up the Cheapo River, or Santa Maria ; for at either of these places a man may pass from sea to sea in three days' time with ease. The Indians can do it in a day and a half, by which you may see how easy it is for a party of men to travel over. I must confess the Indians helped us very much, and question whether we should ever have got over without their assistance, because they brought us from time to time to their plantations, where we always got provisions, which otherwise we should have lacked.

On the 24th of May (having lain one night at the river's mouth) we all went aboard the privateer which lay at La Sounds Key. It was a French vessel commanded by Captain Tristian. The first thing we did was to get such things as we could to gratify our Indian guides, for we were resolved to reward them to their hearts' content. This we did by giving them beads, knives, scissors, and looking-glasses, which we bought of the privateer's crew, and half a dollar a man from each of us. They were so well satisfied with these that they returned with joy to their friends, and were very kind to our companions whom we left behind, as Mr Wafer, our surgeon, and the rest of them told us, when they came to us some months afterwards.

CHAPTER IV

PRIVATEERING IN THE NORTH SEAS

THE privateer on board which we went being now cleaned, we set sail in two days for Springer's Key, another of the Sambaloes Isles, about seven or eight leagues from La Sounds Key. Here lay eight more privateers, English and French, viz. :

Captain Coxon, 10 guns, 100 men	} English Commanders and Englishmen
Captain Payne, 10 guns, 100 men	
Captain Wright, } 4 guns, 40 men	
a barcolongo }	
Captain Williams, a small barcolongo	
Captain Yankee, a barcolongo, 4 guns, about 60 men, English, Dutch, and French; himself a Dutchman.	
Captain Archembo, 8 guns, 40 men	} French Commanders and men
Captain Tucker, 6 guns, 70 men	
Captain Rose, a barcolongo	

An hour before we came to the fleet, Captain Wright, who had been sent to the Chagres River, arrived with a large canoa laden with flour which he took there. Some of his prisoners told him the news of our coming overland, and likewise related the condition and strength of Panama. This was the main thing the privateers enquired after because they designed to join all their force, and by the assistance of the Indians (who had promised to be their guides) to march overland to Panama. All the commanders were aboard of Captain Wright when we came into the fleet, but as soon as they knew we were come, they imme-

diately came aboard of Captain Tristian, being all overjoyed to see us. For Captain Coxon had left us in the South Seas twelve months before, and had never heard what became of us since that time. They enquired of us what we did there, how we lived, how far we had been, and what discoveries we had made in those seas. After we had answered these general questions, they began to examine us more particularly concerning our passage through the country from the South Seas. We related the whole matter, giving them an account of the fatigues of our march, and the inconveniences we suffered by the rains ; and quite disheartened them from that design.

It was seven or eight days before any resolution was taken, though consultations were held every day. At length it was decided to go to a town, the name of which I have forgotten. It lies a great way inland, but not such a tedious march as it would be from hence to Panama. Our way to it lay up Carpenter's River, which is about sixty leagues to the westward of Portobel. Our greatest obstruction in this design was our want of boats, so it was decided to go with all our fleet to St Andreas, a small uninhabited island lying near the Isle of Providence, where we should be but a little way from Carpenter's River, and where we might build canoas, it being plentifully supplied with large cedars for such a purpose.

We kept together the first day, but at night it blew a hard gale, and some of our ships bore away. The next day others were forced to leave us, and the second night we lost all our company. I was now belonging to Captain Archembo, for the rest of the fleet were overmanned, and we that came out of the South Seas must either sail with him or remain among the Indians. Indeed we found no cause to dislike the Captain ; but his French seamen were the saddest creatures that I was ever among, for though we had bad weather that required many hands aloft, the

biggest part of them never stirred out of their hammocks. We made shift to find the island the fourth day, where we met Captain Wright who had come thither the day before, having taken a Spanish tartan¹ with thirty men, all well armed. She had four patereroes² and some long guns, and fought an hour before she yielded.

Being weary of living among the French, we desired Captain Wright to fit up his prize the tartan, and make a man-of-war of her for us. This he at first seemed to decline, but we told him we would no longer remain with Captain Archembo, but would go ashore there and build canoes to transport ourselves down to the Mosquitoes, if he would not entertain us ; for privateers are not obliged to any ship, but free to go ashore where they please, or to go into any other ship that will entertain them, only paying for their provision.

When Captain Wright saw our resolution, he agreed with us on condition we should be under his command, as one ship's company, to which we unanimously consented.

We stayed here about ten days, to see if any more of our fleet would come to us, but only three came to the island, viz., Captain Wright, Captain Archembo, and Captain Tucker. Therefore we concluded the rest had made either for Bocca-toro, or Blewfields River on the Main ; and we designed to seek them. We had fine weather while we lay here except for some tornadoes. But this Isle of St Andreas having neither fish, fowl, nor deer, and being therefore of no use to us for provisioning, we sailed from hence again in quest of our scattered fleet, directing our course for some islands lying near the Main, called by the privateers the Corn Islands, in the hope of getting corn there. Here we arrived the next day, and went ashore on one of them, but found none of the inhabitants. Only a few poor naked Indians live here, who have been so often

¹ A swift coasting vessel.

² Short cannon.

creature is about the size of a horse and ten or twelve feet long. Its mouth is much like that of a cow, having great thick lips. The eyes are no bigger than a small pea, while the ears are only two small holes on each side of the head. The neck is short and thick, bigger than the head. The biggest part of this creature is at the shoulders, where it has two large fins, one on each side of its belly. From the shoulders it grows smaller towards the tail, which is flat and about fourteen inches broad, twenty inches long and in the middle four or five inches thick, but near the edges not above two inches thick. From the head to the tail it is round and smooth and without any fin but the two before mentioned. I have heard of some that weighed above 1200 pounds, but I never saw any so large. The manatee delight to live in brackish water and are commonly found in creeks and rivers near the sea. Sometimes we find them in salt water, sometimes in fresh, but never far from the shore. Those that live in the sea usually come once or twice a day to the mouth of any river that is near their place of abode. They live on grass seven or eight inches long. It has a narrow blade and grows in the sea in many places, especially among islands near the Main, as well as in creeks or great rivers where there is but little tide or current. Manatee never come ashore, nor into shallower water than where they can swim. Their flesh is white, both the fat and the lean, and extraordinarily sweet and wholesome. The tail of a young cow is most esteemed : while a calf that sucks is the most delicate meat. Privateers generally roast them.

The skin of the manatee is of great use to privateers, who cut it into straps, which they fasten on the sides of their canoas and use instead of tholes or pegs to put their oars through in rowing. *The skin of the bull, or of the back of the cow is too thick for this ; but of it they make horse-whips, cutting them two or three feet long. While the*

things are green they are twisted and hung to dry, and in a week's time become as hard as wood.

The Mosquito-men always have a small canoa for their own use to strike fish, tortoise, or manatee. They use no oars but paddles, which they hold perpendicularly, gripping the staff hard with both hands, and putting back the water by main strength and very quick strokes. One of the Mosquitoes (for there are only two in a canoa) sits in the stern, the other kneels down in the head, and both paddle till they come to the place where they expect their game. Then they lie still or paddle very softly, looking well about them, and he that is in the head of the canoa lays down his paddle and stands up with his striking staff in his hand. This staff is about eight feet long, almost as thick as a man's arm at the large end, in which there is a hole to place his harpoon in. At the other end there is a piece of light wood called bob-wood, with a hole in it, through which the small end of the staff comes; and on this piece of bob-wood is wound a line of ten or twelve fathoms. One end of the line is made fast to the bob-wood, and the other to the harpoon, and the Mosquito-man keeps about a fathom of it loose in his hand. When he strikes, the harpoon presently comes out of the staff, and as the manatee swims away, the line runs off from the bob; and although at first both staff and bob may be carried under water, yet as the line runs off it will rise again. Then the Mosquito-men paddle with all their might to get hold of the bob again, and spend usually a quarter of an hour before they get it. When the manatee begins to be tired, it lies still, and then the men take up the bob and begin to haul in the line. On feeling them the manatee swims away again, with the canoa after him. Then he that steers must be nimble to turn the head of the boat in the right direction, for it is towed with a violent motion till the manatee's strength decays. Then they gather in

the line, which they are often forced to let go to the very end. At length when the creature's strength is spent, they drag it up to the side of the canoa, knock it on the head, and tow it to the nearest shore, where they make it fast, and seek for another. Having taken this, they go on shore with it to put it in their canoa. For it is so heavy that they cannot lift it in, but haul it up in shallow water as near the shore as they can and then overset the canoa, laying one side close to the manatee. Then they roll it in, which brings the canoa upright again, and when they have bailed out the water, they fasten a line to the other manatee that lies afloat, and tow it after them. I have known two Mosquito-men for a week bring aboard two manatee every day in this manner, the least of which weighed not less than 600 pounds—and that in a very small canoa, that three Englishmen would scarcely venture to go in.

The manner of striking manatee and tortoise is much the same ; only when they seek for manatee they paddle gently that they make no noise, and never touch the side of the canoa with their paddle, because it is a creature that hears very well. But they are not so particular when they seek for tortoise, whose eyes are better than their ears. They strike the tortoise with a square sharp iron peg instead of a harpoon. These irons are made four square, sharp at one end, and not much above an inch in length. The small spike at the broad end has a line fastened to it, and goes also into a hole at the end of the striking-staff, which when the tortoise is struck flies off, the iron and the end of the line going quite within the shell, where they are so buried that the tortoise cannot possibly escape.

They make their lines both for fishing and striking from Maho, a sort of tree that grows plentifully all over the West Indies, and whose bark is made up of very strong strings or threads. It is fit for any kind of cordage, and privateers often make their rigging of it.

When we had cleaned our tartan we sailed from hence, bound for Bocca-toro. Here we met with Captain Yankee, who told us that there had been a fleet of Spanish armadilloes to seek us ; that Captain Tristian fell in amongst them, supposing them to be our fleet ; that they fired and chased him, but he rowed and towed, and presumably got away. Captain Payne and Captain Williams had likewise been chased, and he had not seen them since. Captain Coxon, he said, was at the careening place.

This Bocca-toro is a place that the privateers resort to, as much as any on all the coast, because there is plenty of green tortoise, and a good careening place. The Indians here have no dealings with the Spaniards ; but are very barbarous, and will not be dealt with. They have destroyed many privateers, as they did some of Captain Payne's men not long after this, by creeping softly into their tent and cutting off their heads, afterwards making their escape.

Our fleet being thus scattered, there was now no hope of getting together again. Captain Wright, with whom I now served, was resolved to cruise on the coast of Cartagene ; and as it was now almost the westerly-wind season, we sailed from hence with Captain Yankee, who consorted with us because he had no commission and was afraid the French would take away his bark. We passed by Scudo, a small island (where it is said Sir Francis Drake's heart was buried), and came to a small river west of Chagres, where we took two canoas and carried them with us into the Sambaloes. Here Captain Wright left us in the tartan while he went on the coast of Cartagene to seek for provision. We cruised in among the islands and kept our Mosquito-men out. They brought aboard some half-grown tortoise, and some of us went ashore every day to hunt for what we could find in the woods. Sometimes we got peccary, warree, or deer ; at other times we lighted on a drove of large fat monkeys, or quams, curassows (each a

large sort of fowl), pigeons, parrots, or turtle-doves. We lived very well on what we got, not staying long in one place ; but sometimes we would go on the islands where there grow great groves of sapadillies, a fruit much like a pear, but more juicy. Under those trees we found plenty of soldier crabs, which are good food, but once our men found a great many large ones that had fed on mançanilla fruit, and were very sick afterwards, being poisoned by them. And this we take for a general rule, when we find any fruits that we have not seen before, if we see them pecked by birds, we may *freely eat*, but if we see no such sign, we let them alone ; for of this fruit no birds will taste. Many of these islands have mançanilla trees growing on them.

Thus cruising in among these islands, at length we came again to La Sound's Key, with a Jamaica sloop that had met us the day before. It was in the evening when we anchored, and the next morning we fired two guns for the Indians that lived on the Main to come aboard ; for by this time we concluded we should hear from our five men that we left in the heart of the country among the natives, this being the latter end of August, and it was the beginning of May when we parted from them. According to our expectation the Indians came aboard, and brought our friends with them. Mr Wafer wore a clout about him and was painted like an Indian ; and he was some time aboard before I knew him.

After this we went eastward to other keys, to meet Captain Wright and Captain Yankee, who encountered a fleet of periaguas laden with Indian corn, hogs, and fowls going to Cartagene, being convoyed by a small armadilly. Her they chased ashore, and most of the periaguas ; but they got two of them off and brought them away.

Here Captain Wright's and Captain Yankee's barks were cleaned, and we stocked ourselves with corn and then went

fishing barks go and anchor ; then the divers go down to the bottom and fill a basket with oysters ; and when they come up, others go down, two at a time. This they do till the bark is full. Then they go ashore, where the old men, women, and children of the Indians open the oysters, there being a Spanish overseer to look after the pearls. Yet these Indians very often secure the best pearls for themselves, as many Jamaica men can testify who daily trade with them.

When we had spent some time here, we returned again towards the coast of Cartagene. After three or four days we descried a sail out at sea and chased her at noon. Captain Wright and Captain Yankee took her before we came up, but lost two or three men and had seven or eight wounded. The prize was a ship of twelve guns and forty men and was laden with sugar and tobacco.

We went back with her to Rio Grande, to fix our rigging which was shattered in the fight, and to consider what to do with her ; for these were commodities of little use to us, and not worth going into a port with. Captain Wright demanded the prize, and indeed had the most right to her, but the company were all afraid he would presently carry her into a port and most of his men stuck to Captain Yankee. Captain Wright losing his prize burned his own bark and had Captain Yankee's, it being bigger than his own ; the tartan was sold to a Jamaica trader, and Captain Yankee *commanded the prize ship*. We went again from hence to Rio la Hacha and set the prisoners ashore ; and it being now the beginning of November, decided to go to Curaçao, a Dutch island, to sell our sugar. Captain Wright went ashore to the Governor and offered him the sale of the sugar, but the former said he had a great trade with the Spaniards, and therefore could not admit us in there.

So we went from thence to Bon Airy, another Dutch

hoisted up their top-sails, and crowded all the sails they could make and ran full ashore after him ; all within half a mile of each other. For his light being in the main-top was an unhappy beacon for them to follow ; and there escaped but one king's ship and one privateer. The ships continued whole all day, and the men had time enough, most of them, to get ashore. Yet three hundred perished in the wreck, and many of those that got safe on the island, for want of being accustomed to such hardships, died like sheep. But the privateers who had been used to such accidents lived merrily, and those of them from whom I had this relation told me that if they had gone to Jamaica with £30 a man in their pockets, they could not have enjoyed themselves more. For they kept in a gang by themselves, and watched when the ships broke, to get the goods from them ; and though much was staved against the rocks, yet abundance of wine and brandy floated over the Riff, where the privateers waited to take it up. They lived here about three weeks, waiting an opportunity to return to Hispaniola ; in all which time they were never without two or three hogsheads of wine and brandy in their tents, and barrels of beef and pork, which they could live on without bread well enough, though the new-comers out of France could not.

A short time after this great shipwreck, Captain Payne, commander of a privateer of six guns, had a pleasant accident befall him at this island. He came hither to careen, intending to fit himself very well ; for here driven on the island were masts, yards, timbers, and many other things he wanted. He therefore sailed into the harbour and unrigged his ship. Before he had done, a Dutch ship of twenty guns was sent from Curaçao to take up the guns that were lost on the Riff. But seeing a French privateer in the harbour they thought to take her first, and came within a mile and began to fire at her, intending to warp

in the next day (for it is very narrow going in). Captain Payne got ashore some of his guns, and did what he could to resist them ; though he feared he must be taken. But while his men were thus busied, he spied a Dutch sloop turning to get into the road, and saw her anchor in the evening at the west end of the island. This gave him some hope of making his escape ; which he did by sending two canoas in the night aboard the sloop. These took her, and he went away in her, making a good reprisal, and leaving his own empty ship to the Dutch man-of-war.

While we were at the Isles of Aves, we careened Captain Wright's bark, and scrubbed the sugar-prize, and got two guns out of the wrecks, continuing here till the beginning of February 1682.

We went from hence to Los Roques Islands to careen the sugar-prize, and after we had filled what water we could, set out again in April and came to Salt-Tortuga. This island is pretty large, uninhabited, and abounds with salt. Here we thought to have sold our sugar among the English ships that come hither (for salt), but failing to do so, we went to Blanco, a flat low island almost north of Margarita. It is plentifully stored with guanos,¹ which are an animal like a lizard, but much bigger. If a man takes hold of the tail, except very near the hind quarter, it will part and break off in one of the joints, and the guano will get away. They lay eggs as most of these amphibious creatures do, and are very good to eat. Their flesh is much esteemed by privateers, who commonly dress them for their sick men ; for they make very good broth. They are of different colours : those that are constantly in the water and among rocks are usually black ; others that live in swampy ground on bushes and trees are green ; while such as live in dry ground, as here at Blanco, are generally yellow.

¹ Iguanas.

We stayed only ten days and then went back to Salt-Tortuga again, where Captain Yankee parted from us. From thence, after about four days, during all which time our men were drunk and quarrelling, we in Captain Wright's ship went to the coast of Caraccos on the mainland. This coast is very remarkable, being a continuous tract of high ridges with small valleys between, stretching east and west for about twenty leagues. The hills are barren, except the lower sides of them, which are covered with some of the same rich black mould that fills the valleys and is as good as I have seen. In general the valleys are extremely fertile, well watered, and inhabited by Spaniards and their negroes. They have maize and plantains for their support, with Indian fowls and some hogs. But the main product of these valleys, and indeed the only commodity it vends, are the cacao-nuts, of which the chocolate is made.

The cacao tree has a trunk about a foot and a half thick and seven or eight feet high to the branches, which are large and spreading like an oak, with a pretty thick, smooth, dark-green leaf, shaped like that of a plum tree, but larger. The nuts are enclosed in pods as big as a man's fists put together. At the broad end is a small tough stalk, by which they hang from the body of the tree, in all parts of it from top to bottom, and from the greater branches. There may be ordinarily twenty or thirty of these pods on a well-bearing tree; and they have two crops a year, one in December, but the best in June. The shell itself is almost half an inch thick, neither spongy nor woody, but of a substance between both, brittle, yet harder than the rind of a lemon. Its surface is grained or knobbed, like that of the lemon, but more coarse and unequal. The pods at first are of a dark green, but the side of them next the sun of a muddy red. As they grow ripe, the green turns to a fine bright yellow, and the muddy to a more lively beauti-

ful red, very pleasant to the eye. They neither ripen nor are gathered at once, but for three weeks or a month the overseers of the plantations go every day to see which are turned yellow, often cutting not above one from a tree. The pods thus gathered they lay in several heaps to sweat, and then bursting the shell with their hands they pull out the nuts, which are placed like the grains of maize and so closely packed that after they have once been separated it would be hard to put them again in so narrow a compass. There are generally about a hundred nuts in a pod. When taken out they are dried in the sun upon mats spread on the ground, after which they need no more care, having a thin hard skin of their own, and much oil which preserves them. Salt water will not hurt them, for we had our bags rotten, lying in the bottom of our ship, and yet the nuts never the worse. They raise the young trees from nuts set with the great end downward in fine black mould, and in the same places where they are to bear, which they do in four or five years' time without the trouble of transplanting. There are usually from five hundred to two thousand of these trees in a plantation or cacao-walk, as they call them. Cacao-nuts are used as money in the Bay of Campeachy.

But to return to Caraccos, all this coast is subject to dry winds, which caused us to have scabby lips, though in other respects it is very healthy. The Dutch have a profitable trade here, almost to themselves. They carry hither all sorts of European goods, especially linen, making vast returns, chiefly in silver and cacao. And I have often wondered and regretted that none of my own countrymen find the way thither directly from England ; for our Jamaicamen trade here, and very profitably too, though they carry English commodities at second or third hand.

While we lay on this coast, we went ashore in some of the bays, and took seven or eight tons of cacao ; and after that three barks, one laden with hides, the second with

European goods, the third with earthenware and brandy. With these three barks we went again to Los Roques, where we shared our commodities and separated, having vessels enough to transport us all wherever we thought most convenient. Twenty of us (for we were about sixty) took one of our vessels and our share of the goods, and went directly for Virginia, where we arrived in July 1682. That country is so well known that I shall say nothing of it, nor shall I detain the reader with the story of my own affairs and the troubles that befell me during about thirteen months of my stay there ; but enter immediately upon my second voyage into the South Seas, and round the globe.

CHAPTER V

A VOYAGE ROUND CAPE HORN

BEING now entering upon the relation of a new voyage from Virginia by the way of Terra del Fuego, and the South Seas, the East Indies, and so on, till my return to England by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, I shall give my reader this short account of my entrance upon it. Among those who accompanied Captain Sharp into the South Seas in our former expedition, and leaving him there, returned overland, there was one Mr Cook, an English native of St Christopher's. He was a sensible man, and had been some years a privateer. After our parting at Tortugas mentioned in the last chapter, this Mr Cook being quartermaster under Captain Yankee (the second place in the ship, according to the law of privateers) laid claim to a ship they took from the Spaniards. And such of Captain Yankee's men as were so disposed, particularly all those who came with us overland, went aboard this prize ship under the new Captain Cook. This distribution was made at the Isle of Vacca ; and here they parted also such goods as they had taken. But Captain Cook having no commission, as had Captain Yankee, Captain Tristian, and some other French commanders who lay then at that island ; and they grudging the English such a vessel, they all joined together, plundered the English of their ship, goods, and arms, and turned them ashore. Yet Captain Tristian took in about eight or ten of them, amongst them Captains Cook and Davis, who found means to seize the ship as she lay at anchor in the Road, and stood away with

her immediately for Vacca before any notice of this surprise could reach the French Governor of that Isle. So deceiving him also by a stratagem, they got on board the rest of their countrymen who had been left there, and going thence they took a ship newly come from France, laden with wines. They also took a ship of good force, in which they resolved to embark themselves, and make a new expedition into the South Seas, to cruise on the coast of Chili and Peru. But first they went for Virginia with their prizes, where they arrived the April after my coming thither. The best of their prizes carried eighteen guns. This they fitted up there with sails, and everything necessary for so long a voyage, selling the wines they had taken for such provisions as they wanted. Myself, and those of our fellow-travellers over the Isthmus of America, who came with me to Virginia the year before this (most of whom had since made a short voyage to Carolina and returned), resolved to join ourselves to these new adventurers. Our whole crew consisted of seventy men. So having furnished ourselves with necessary materials, and agreed upon some particular rules, especially of temperance and sobriety, by reason of the length of our intended voyage, we all went aboard our ship.

On August 23, 1683, we sailed from Achamack in Virginia, under the command of Captain Cook, bound for the South Seas. We met nothing worth observation till we came to the Islands of Cape Verd, excepting a terrible storm, which lasted above a week and drenched us all like so many drowned rats, and was one of the worst storms I ever was in. After this we had favourable winds and good weather, and in a short time arrived at Sall, one of the easternmost of the Cape Verd Islands, so called from the abundance of salt that is naturally congealed there, the whole island being full of large salt ponds. The land is very barren, producing no tree that I could see, but some

small scrubby bushes by the seaside. Neither could I discern any grass, though there are some poor goats on it.

I saw a few flamingoes, a sort of wild fowl much like a heron in shape, but bigger, and of a reddish colour. They delight to keep together in great companies, and feed in mud or ponds, or in such places where there is not much water. They are very shy, therefore it is hard to shoot them. The young ones cannot fly till they are almost full grown, but will run prodigiously fast. The flesh of both young and old is lean and black, yet very good meat, tasting neither fishy nor in any way unsavoury. Their tongues are large, having a large knob of fat at the root, which is an excellent bit, a dish of flamingoes' tongues being fit for a prince's table.

At St Nicholas, about twenty-two leagues W.S.W. from Sall, we scrubbed the bottom of our ship, and dug wells ashore on the bay to provide us with water. We anchored again at Mayo, but could get no beef or goats from the inhabitants, so leaving the Islands of Cape Verd we stood away to the southward, intending to have touched no more till we came to the Straits of Magellan. But when we reached latitude 10° N., we altered our minds, and steered away for the coast of Guinea, coming in a few days to the mouth of the River of Sherboro', which is an English factory lying south of Sierra Lóna. While we lay here we scrubbed the bottom of our ship, and then filled all our water casks; and buying two puncheons of rice for our voyage, departed about the middle of November 1683, prosecuting our intended course towards the Straits of Magellan.

We had but little wind after we got out, and very hot weather, with some fierce tornadoes lasting sometimes not a quarter of an hour, followed by a flat calm. Many of our men were taken with fevers, yet we lost but one. While we lay in the calms we caught several great sharks,

and ate them, having but little flesh aboard. We took advantage of every tornado, and carried what sail we could to get us to the southward, for we had but little wind when they were over, and that was much against us till we passed the equinoctial line. Then it veered more easterly and gradually freshened till in the latitude of 5° S. it blew a top-gallant gale. We then made best use of it, steering on briskly with all the sail we could make, and this wind by the 18th of January carried us into latitude 36° S. In all this time we met with *nothing worthy of remark*.

The twentieth day one of our chirurgeons died much lamented, because we had but one more for such a dangerous voyage.

On January 28, we made the Sibbel de Wards, three islands lying in latitude $51^{\circ} 25'$ S. and by my account $57^{\circ} 28'$ longitude W. from the Lizard in England. I had for a month before we came thither endeavoured to persuade Captain Cook to anchor at these islands, where I told them we might probably get water. This I urged to hinder their designs of going through the Straits of Magellan, which I knew would prove very dangerous to us, because our men being privateers, and so more wilful and less under command, would not be so ready to give a watchful attendance in a passage so little known.

However, I believe there is no water on any of them, for there was no appearance of it. Leaving them therefore, we sailed on, directing our course for the Straits of Magellan. But the winds hanging in the wester-board, and blowing hard, oft put us by our topsails, so that we could not fetch it. The 6th day of February we fell in with the Straits of Le Mair, which are very narrow, with very high land on both sides. Here we had like to founder, for the tide ran every way, and the ship tossed like an egg-shell, so that I never felt such uncertain jerks in a vessel. At eight o'clock in the evening we had a small breeze at

W.N.W., and steered away to the eastward, intending to go round the States Island, the east end of which we reached the next day by noon, having a fresh breeze all night.

The seventh day at noon being off the east end of States Island, I had a good observation of the sun, and found myself in latitude $54^{\circ} 52'$ S.

We never saw Terra del Fuego after the evening we made the Strait Le Mair. I have heard that there have been smokes and fires on Terra del Fuego, not on the tops of hills, but in plains and valleys, seen by those who have sailed through the Straits of Magellan; supposed to be made by the natives.

We did not see the sun at rising or setting, in order to take an amplitude, after we left Sibbel de Wards, till we got into the South Sea, but I had an observation of the sun at noon in latitude $59^{\circ} 30'$. That night I was in latitude 60° by reckoning, which was the farthest south latitude that ever I was in.

The 14th day of February, being in latitude 57° , and to the west of Cape Horn, we had a violent storm which held us till the 3rd day of March, and we made shift to save twenty-three barrels of rain water, besides what we dressed our victuals withal.

We then stood into the South Seas, and on the seventeenth day we were in latitude 36° by observation.

The nineteenth day when we looked out in the morning we saw a ship to the southward, coming with all the sail she could make after us. We lay muzzled to let her come up with us, for we supposed her to be a Spanish ship from Valdivia bound for Lima. Her captain had the same opinion of us, but coming nearer we both found our mistake. He proved to be one Captain Eaton in a ship sent purposely from London for the South Seas. We hailed each other, and the Captain came on board, and told us

of his actions on the coast of Brazil, and in the River of Plate. Both being bound for John Fernando's Isle, we kept company, and we spared him bread and beef, and he spared us water, which he took in as he passed through the Straits.

On March 22, 1684, we came in sight of the island, and the next day anchored in a bay at the south end in twenty-five fathoms of water, not two cables' length from the shore. We presently got out our canoa, and went ashore to seek for a Mosquito Indian, whom we left here when we were chased hence by three Spanish ships in the year 1681.

This Indian lived here alone above three years, and although he was several times sought after by the Spaniards who knew he was left on the island, yet they could never find him. He was in the woods hunting for goats when Captain Watling (then our commander) drew off his men, and the ship was under sail before he came back to shore. He had with him his gun and a knife, with a small horn of powder and a few shot ; which being spent he contrived a way by notching his knife to saw the barrel of his gun into small pieces, wherewith he made harpoons, lances, hooks, and a long knife. All this may seem strange to those that are not acquainted with the sagacity of the Indians ; but it is no more than the Mosquito-men are accustomed to in their own country, where they make their own fishing and striking instruments without either forge or anvil, though they spend a great deal of time about them.

Other wild Indians who do not understand the use of iron—which the Mosquito-men have learned from the English—make hatchets of a very hard stone, with which they will cut down trees to build their houses or make canoas. These stone hatchets are about ten inches long, four broad, and three inches thick in the middle. They are ground away flat and sharp at both ends. Exactly round the middle they make a notch so wide and deep that a man

may place his finger along it, and taking a stick or withe about four feet long they bind it round the hatchet head in that notch, and so twisting it hard, use it as a handle, the head being held by it very fast. Nor are other wild Indians less ingenious. Those of Patagonia, particularly, head their arrows with flint, cut or ground ; which I have seen and admired.

But to return to our Mosquito-man on the Isle of John Fernando. With the instruments that he made in this manner he got such provision as the island afforded, either goats or fish. He told us that at first he was forced to eat seal, which is very ordinary meat, before he had made hooks, but afterwards he never killed any seals but to make lines, cutting their skins into thongs. He had a little hut half a mile from the sea lined with goatskin ; and his couch or barbecue of sticks lying about two feet from the ground was spread with the same, which was all his bedding. He had no clothes left, having worn out those he brought from Watling's ship, but only a skin about his waist. He saw our ship the day before we anchored, and believing we were English, killed three goats in the morning and dressed them with cabbage to treat us when we came ashore. Then he came to the seaside to congratulate us on our safe arrival. When we landed, a Mosquito Indian named Robin first leaped ashore, and running to his brother Mosquito-man, threw himself flat on his face at his feet, who helping him up and embracing him, fell at Robin's feet and was by him taken up also. We stood with pleasure to behold the surprise, the tenderness, and solemnity of this interview, which was exceedingly affectionate on both sides ; and when their ceremonies of civility were over, each of us embraced him we had found here, who was overjoyed to see so many of his old friends who had come as he thought, purposely to fetch him. He was named Will, as the other was Robin. These were

names given them by the English, for they had none among themselves.

This island is in latitude $34^{\circ} 45'$ and about a hundred and twenty leagues from the Main. It is about twelve leagues round, full of high hills and small pleasant valleys. The savannahs are stocked with goats in great herds, which were first put on the island by John Fernando, who first discovered it in his voyage from Lima to Baldivia, and from whom it has taken its name. He designed to settle here, but could never get a patent for it, so it lies destitute of inhabitants, though doubtless capable of maintaining four or five hundred families; for the land is of a good black fruitful mould. The sea around it is likewise very productive. Seals swarm as thick about this island as if they had no other place in the world to live in, for there is not a bay nor a rock but is full of them. Sea-lions are here in great companies, and fish are so plentiful that two men in an hour's time will take with hook and line as many as will serve a hundred men.

We remained at John Fernando's sixteen days. Our sick men were ashore all the time, and one of Captain Eaton's doctors tended and fed them with goat and several herbs—of which plenty grew in the brooks; for their diseases were chiefly scorbutic.

CHAPTER VI

CRUISING IN THE PACIFIC

THE 8th of April, 1684, we sailed from the Isle of John Fernando, with the wind at S.E. We were now two ships in company : Captain Cook's, whose ship I was in, and who here took the sickness of which he died a while after ; and Captain Eaton's. Our passage lay now along the Pacific. In this sea we made the best of our way towards the Line, till in the latitude of 24° S. we fell in with the mainland of South America. All this tract of land, both in Chile and Peru, is exceedingly high ; therefore we kept twelve or fourteen leagues from the shore, being unwilling to be seen by the Spaniards dwelling there.

Keeping within sight of this coast, we encountered nothing of note till on the 3rd of May we descried a sail to the northward of us. We chased her, and Captain Eaton being ahead soon took her. She came from Guayaquil about a month before, laden with timber, and was bound for Lima.

The 9th of May we arrived at the Isle of Lobos de la Mar, and came to anchor with our prize. Here we scrubbed our ships, and being ready to sail, examined our prisoners, to know if any of them could conduct us to some town we might attack ; for they had already informed us that we had been seen by the Spaniards, who would therefore send no riches by sea so long as we were here. Many towns were considered, and at last Truxillo was pitched on as the most important. We did not much question our

ability to conquer it, though we knew it to be a very populous city, but the greatest difficulty was in landing. However, on the afternoon of May 17, our men of both ships' companies were mustered, and their arms proved. We were in all 108 men fit for service, besides the sick, and the next day we intended to sail and take the wood prize with us. But on the morrow one of our men being ashore early on the island descried three sail bound to the northward.

We soon got our anchors up and chased. Captain Eaton went after two, and we in Captain Cook's ship after the other, which stood in for the mainland. Having taken her, we stood in again with her to the island; for we saw that Captain Eaton needed no help, having captured both those that he went after. These ships, all three laden with flour, were bound for Panama. Two of them were laden as deep as they could swim; the other was only half laden but was ordered by the Viceroy of Lima to sail with the others, for he hoped they might escape us by setting out early. In the biggest ship was a letter from him to the President of Panama assuring him that there were enemies come into that sea, for which reason he had despatched these three ships with flour, that his people might not want for supplies. He desired them to be frugal of it, for he did not know when he should send more. In this ship were also seven or eight tuns of quince marmalade, a stately mule sent to the President, and a very large image of the Virgin Mary in wood, carved and painted to adorn a new church at Panama. She had also brought from Lima 800,000 pieces of eight, to carry with her to Panama, but while she was loading her flour at Guanchaquo, the merchants hearing of Captain Swan's being in Baldivia ordered the money ashore again. These prisoners finally informed us that a fort was being built at Guanchaquo (which is the port for Truxillo) close by the sea, for the purpose of hindering

designs of any that should attempt to land there. Upon this news we altered our former plans, and resolved to go with our three prizes to the Gallapagos, which are a great many large islands, lying some under the Equator, others on each side of it.

On the evening of May 19, we sailed from Lobos, carrying our three flour prizes with us, but leaving our first prize laden with timber at anchor. It was on the 31st that we first sighted the Gallapagos; and the ship that I was in, and Captain Eaton, anchored on the east side of the easternmost islands, a mile from the shore. The Spaniards when they first discovered these islands, found multitudes of iguanas and tortoises, and I believe there is no place in the world so plentifully stored with these animals. The iguanas here are as fat and large as any that I ever saw, and are so tame that a man may knock down twenty in an hour's time with a club. The tortoises here are so numerous that five or six hundred men might subsist on them alone for several months. They are extraordinarily large and fat; and so sweet, that no pullet eats more pleasantly. One of the largest of these creatures will weigh 150 to 200 pounds, though I never saw any but at this place that weigh more than thirty.

These islands are also plentifully stored with sea-turtle, of the green variety; so called because their shell is greener than any other. These are the sweetest of all the kinds. I heard of a monster once taken at Port-Royal, in the Bay of Campeachy, that was four feet high and six feet broad. Captain Rochy's son, a boy of about nine or ten years of age, sailed in it as in a boat. Sea-tortoise is the common food in Jamaica for the ordinary people. Green tortoise live on grass which grows in the sea. They go from the Gallapagos (at their season) over to the Main to lay their eggs, the nearest place being a hundred leagues away. When the females go thus to lay, the males accom-

pany them and never leave them till they return. These creatures are thought to live to a great age ; and it is observed by the Jamaica turtlers that they are many years before they come to their full growth.

We stayed at one of these islands but one night, because our prizes could not get in to anchor. We refreshed ourselves very well, both with land- and sea-turtles ; and the next day sailed away. The next island of the Gallapagos we came to was two leagues distant, and as soon as we anchored, we made a tent ashore for Captain Cook, who was sick. We stayed here but twelve days, during which time we put ashore five thousand bags of flour for a reserve, in case we should need any before leaving these seas.

On the 12th of June we sailed from hence, intending to touch at the Island of Cocos, and to put some flour ashore there, but despairing of finding it, as the winds were, steered over to the Main. At the beginning of July we fell in with Cape Blanco, on the coast of Mexico, so called from two white rocks lying off it.

Captain Cook, who was taken ill at John Fernando's, continued so till we came within two or three leagues of this place, and then died suddenly. He was carried ashore to be buried, and before he was interred, three Spanish Indians came to where our men were digging the grave and demanded who they were and whence they came. Our men laid hold of all three, but one of them made his escape, and the other two were brought aboard our ship. Captain Eaton immediately questioned them about the state and riches of their country. They said the inhabitants were mostly husbandmen employed in planting corn, or raising cattle. They had large savannahs well stored with bulls, cows, and horses. In some places by the sea-side grew a red wood useful in dyeing, but of this little profit was made because they were forced to send it to the Lake of Nicaragua, to which place they also sent great

quantities of hides, taking European goods in exchange. After this relation, they told us that if we wanted provision there was a farm of bulls and cows about three miles off, where we might kill what we pleased. This was welcome news, for we had had no sort of flesh since we left the Gallapagos. Twenty-four of us therefore immediately entered two boats, taking one of the Spanish Indians with us for a pilot, and went ashore about a league from the ship. There we followed our guide, who soon brought us to some houses and a large pen for cattle, which stood in a large savannah about two miles from our boats. There were a great many fat bulls and cows feeding there, and some of us wished to kill three or four to carry aboard. But others opposed this plan, on the ground that it was better to stay all night and in the morning drive the cattle into the pen and then kill as many as we pleased. I wished to return on board, and tried to persuade them all to go with me, but some would not, so I returned with twelve and left the other twelve behind. We met with no opposition, and the next day expected our companions to return, but none came ; therefore at four o'clock in the afternoon ten men went in our canoa to see what had become of them. When they came to the bay where we landed, they found our men all on a small rock, standing in the water up to their waists. These fellows had kept ashore in the house, and turned out early in the morning to pen the cattle. When they were scattered about, forty or fifty Spaniards came in among them. Our men immediately called to one another before they could be attacked and marched to their boat, which had been hauled up high and dry on the sand. But when they reached it, they found it all in flames. This was a very unpleasant sight, for they did not know how to get aboard, unless they marched by land to the place where Captain Cook was buried, which was nearly a league off. The greatest part of the way was

through thick woods, where the Spaniards might easily lay an ambush for them, at which they are very expert. It was about half ebb, when one of our men noticed a rock a good distance from the shore, just appearing above water. He showed it to his comrades, and told them it would be a good castle for them if they could get there. They all wished themselves there, for the Spaniards, who lay as yet a good distance from them behind the bushes, as if certain of their prey, began to send a shot now and then whistling amongst them. Having therefore well considered the place, together with the danger they were in, they sent one of the tallest men to try if the sea between them and the rock were fordable. Finding it according to their desire, they all marched over to the rock, where they remained till the canoa came to them, which was about seven hours later. It was the latter part of the ebb when they first went over, and the rock was then dry, but when the tide turned, it was covered, and the water still flowing ; so that if our canoa had stayed but an hour longer, they might have been in as great danger of their lives from the sea, as before from the Spaniards, for the tide rises here about eight feet. Their enemies remained on the shore, expecting to see them destroyed, but never came from behind the bushes, having not above three or four handguns, the rest of them being armed with lances. The Spaniards in these parts are very expert in darting the lance, with which, upon occasion, they will do great feats, especially in ambuscades. Before night our canoa came aboard and brought our men all safe.

While we lay here, we filled our water-casks, and cut a great many handles for oars ; for there is plenty of lance-wood suitable for the purpose. This wood is very hard, tough, and heavy, so privateers esteem it highly, not only for making oars, but scouring rods for their guns.

The day before we left, Mr Edward Davis, the quarter-

master, was made captain by consent of all the company ; for it was his place by order of succession. On the 20th of July we sailed from this Bay of Caldera with Captain Eaton directing our course for Rea Leja. The wind was at north, and carried us in three days abreast of our intended port.

Rea Leja is the most remarkable island on all this coast, for there is a high-peaked burning mountain called by the Spaniards Volcan-Vejo, or the Old Volcano. It may be easily known, for there is no other mountain so high near it ; besides, it smokes all day, and in the night sometimes sends forth flames of fire. Here we stayed till four o'clock in the afternoon and then steered for the Gulf of Amapalla, intending there to careen our ships.

The 26th of July Captain Eaton came aboard our ship to consult with Captain Davis how to get some Indians to assist us in careening. It was decided that when we came near the gulf, the latter should take two canoas, well manned, and go before; and Captain Eaton should stay on board. According to this agreement Captain Davis departed for the gulf the next day.

He came the first night to Mangera, where a friar, with two Indian boys, fell into his hands. The next afternoon the ships came into the gulf and anchored near the Island of Amapalla. In the evening Captain Davis and his company came aboard and brought the friar with them. The following day we sent ashore one of the Indians who before night returned with six others, who remained with us all the time we stayed here. These Indians did us good service, especially in piloting us to an island where we killed beef whenever we wanted ; and for this service we rewarded them to their hearts' content. When both our ships were clean, and our water filled, Captain Davis and Captain Eaton separated. Captain Eaton took aboard four hundred bags of flour and sailed out of the gulf on the 2nd day of September.

CHAPTER VII

ADVENTURES ON THE COAST OF PERU

THE 3rd day of September, 1684, we sent the friar ashore, and left the Indians in possession of the prize which we brought hither, though she was still half laden with flour ; and sailed out with the land wind, passing between Amapalla and Mangera. We steered towards the coast of Peru, having tornadoes every day till we made Cape St Francisco. Tornadoes are very common on this coast from June to November, and we had with them very much thunder, lightning, and rain. Near the Cape we overtook Captain Eaton, who in his passage from Amapalla had met with such terrible tornadoes that his men were very much affrighted, the air smelling greatly of sulphur and they apprehensive of being burnt by the lightning. We separated from him in the evening, and plied near the shore, coming to the Island of Plata on September 20. We were now fallen in again with the same places from which I began my account of this voyage in the first chapter, having now encompassed the whole continent of South America.

At the Island of Plata we lay till October 2, when Captain Swan in the *Cygnet* of London arrived there. He had been fitted out by very eminent merchants of that city with the sole design of trading with the Spaniards or Indians, having a considerable cargo well suited for these parts of the world. But meeting with various disappointments, and being hopeless of obtaining trade in these seas, his men forced him to entertain a company of privateers

which he met with near Nicoya, whither they were bound in boats to get a ship. These men had come overland under the command of Captain Peter Harris. Captain Swan still commanded his own ship, and Captain Harris a small bark, under him. There was much joy on all sides when they arrived, and Captain Davis and Captain Swan immediately joined forces.

On November 2 we got as far as Payta. We lay about six leagues from the shore all day, so that the Spaniards might not see us, and in the evening sent our canoes manned with 110 men ashore to take it.

Payta is a small Spanish seaport town in the latitude of $5^{\circ} 15'$. It is built on the sand in a bay under a pretty high hill. There are not above eighty houses and two churches. The houses are low and badly built (as is usual in Peru) of bricks made of earth and straw kneaded together. The bricks are about three feet long, two feet broad, and a foot and a half thick, and are never burned, but laid for a long time in the sun to dry before being used. In some places there are no roofs, but only poles laid across the walls and covered with mats. The houses all over this kingdom are but meanly built, partly owing to lack of materials (for there is neither stone nor timber) and partly because it never rains.

On November 3, at six o'clock in the morning, our men landed, marched to the fort on the hill, and took it without the loss of one man. Hereupon the Governor and the inhabitants of the town ran away as fast as they could. Then our men entered the town, and found it emptied both of money and goods; there was not so much as a meal of victuals left for them. The prisoners told us a ship had been here a little before and burnt a great ship in the Road, but did not land their men; and that here they put ashore all their prisoners and pilots. We knew this must be Captain Eaton's ship which had done this, and by these

circumstances we supposed he was gone to the East Indies, such being always his design.

In the evening we came in with our ships, and anchored about a mile from the shore. Here we stayed till the sixth day, hoping to get a ransom for the town. Our captains demanded 300 bags of flour, 3000 pounds of sugar, twenty-five jars of wine, and 1000 jars of water to be brought off to us ; but we got nothing of it. Therefore Captain Swan ordered the town to be fired, which was presently done. Then all our men came aboard, and the bark which Captain Harris commanded was burnt because *she did not sail well*.

We arrived at Lobos de la Mar on the 19th, and on the 29th loosed from hence, steering directly for the Bay of Guiaquil. This bay runs in between Cape Blanco on the south and Point Chandy on the north. About twenty-five leagues from Cape Blanco is a small island called Santa Clara. It is reported by the Spaniards that there is a very rich wreck lying on the north side, and that some of the plate has been taken up by stealth by the Indians, who might have taken much more, if it were not for the cat-fish which swarm hereabouts.

The cat-fish is much like a whiting, but the head is flatter and bigger. It has a great wide mouth with certain small strings pointing out from each side of it, like cats' whiskers ; and three fins, one growing on the top of its back, and one on either side. Each of these fins has a stiff sharp bone, which is very venomous if it strikes into a man's flesh ; therefore it is dangerous diving where many of these fish are. The Indians that ventured to search this wreck experienced it to their sorrow, some having lost their lives and others the use of their limbs. This we were told by one of them who had been fishing there by stealth. I myself have known some white men who have lost the use of their hands by a mere prick from the fin of these fish. Therefore when we catch them, we tread on them to

take the hook out of their mouths, for otherwise they might accidentally strike their sharp fins into the hands of those that caught them. These fish are found all over the American coast and also in the East Indies, where Captain Minchin lost the use of his hand by one of them at an island near the Straits of Malacca. However, though their bony fins are so venomous, the bones in their bodies are not—at least we never perceived any ill effects from eating the fish ; and their flesh is very sweet, delicious, and wholesome.

From the Island of Santa Clara to Punta Arena is seven leagues E.N.E. This Punta Arena, or Sandy Point, is the westernmost point of the Island Puna. Here all ships bound into the River of Guiaquil anchor, and must wait for a pilot, the entrance being very dangerous for strangers.

Puna is a fairly large flat low island with many dangerous shoals on all sides of it. There is only one Indian town, on the south side close by the sea, and seven leagues from Punta Arena. This town is also called Puna. Its inhabitants are all seamen, and the only pilots in these seas. These men are obliged by the Spaniards to keep good watch for ships that anchor at Sandy Point, coming thither in the morning and returning at night on horseback. The middle of the Island Puna is savannah or pasture, but there are plenty of palmeto trees, about the size of an ordinary ash. In Bermudas, and elsewhere, they make hats, baskets, brooms, and many other house implements of palmeto-leaves.

There are in the town of Puna about twenty houses and a small church. The houses all stand on posts ten or twelve feet high, with ladders on the outside to go up into them. I never saw buildings like them anywhere but among the Malaysians in the East Indies. They are thatched with palmeto leaves.

From Puna to Guiaquil is reckoned seven leagues. It

is one league before you come to the mouth of the river [Guiaquil] where it is above two miles wide. From thence upwards the river lies pretty straight, without any considerable turnings.

Guiaquil may be considered one of the chiefest ports in the South Seas. It was to this town that we were bound, so we left our ships off Cape Blanco and ran into the Bay with our bark and canoas. The next day, the two watchmen of the Indian town Puna were taken by our men, and all its inhabitants, not one escaping. The next ebb they took a bark laden with Quito cloth, whose master informed them that there were three ships laden with negroes coming from Guiaquil the next tide. They thereupon sent a canoa to our bark, where the biggest part of the men were, to hasten them away to the Indian town. The bark was now riding at Punta Arena ; and the next flood she came with all the men and the rest of the canoas to Puna. Here we lay till the last of the ebb, and then rowed away, leaving five men aboard with orders to lie still till eight o'clock the next morning, and not to fire at any boat, but after that they might fire at any object : for it was supposed that before that time we should be masters of Guiaquil. We had not rowed two miles before we met and took one of the three ships laden with negroes, whose master said that the other two would come from Guiaquil the next tide of ebb. We cut her mainmast down, and left her at an anchor. It was now strong flood, and therefore we rowed with all speed towards the town, but we found it farther than we expected. Day broke when we were still two leagues from our object, so our captains desired the Indian pilot to direct us to some creek where we might hide all day. One canoa was sent towards Puna to our bark, to order the crew not to move nor fire till the next day, but she came too late to countermand the first orders ; for the two aforementioned ships laden with negroes were mistaken for vessels manned

with Spanish soldiers sent to take us, and three guns were fired at them a league before they came near. They immediately came to anchor, and their masters got into their boats and rowed for the shore, but the canoa that we had sent took them both. The firing of these three guns made a great disorder among our advance-party, most of whom believed they were heard at Guiaquil, and that it was therefore of no use to lie still in the creek, but better to row either away to the town or back again to our ships. It was now quarter ebb, therefore we could not move upwards, if we had been disposed to do so. At length Captain Davis said he would land and march directly to the town, if forty men would accompany him, and without saying more words he landed in the mangroves among the marshes. Captain Swan remained with the rest of the party in the creek, for they thought it impossible to do any good. Captain Davis and his men were absent about four hours, and then returned all wet and quite tired, being unable to find any passage out on to firm land. He had been so far that he almost despaired of getting back again; for a man cannot pass through those red mangroves without a great deal of labour. When Captain Davis returned, we decided to go towards the town at the beginning of the next flood [tide], and if we found that the town was alarmed, to return without attempting anything there. As soon as it was flood we rowed away, and passed by the island through the north-east channel, which is the narrowest. There are so many stumps in the river, that it is very dangerous passing in the night (and that is the time we always choose for such attempts), for the river runs very swift. One of our canoas stuck on a stump, and would certainly have upset, if she had not been immediately rescued by the others. When we had come almost to the end of the island, a musket was fired at us out of the bushes on the main. We then had the town in open

view before us, and presently saw lighted torches, or candles, all over it ; whereas before the gun was fired there was but one light. Yet many of our men said that as it was a Holy-day the next day the Spaniards were making fireworks, as they often do on the night before such occasions. We rowed therefore a little farther, and found firm land, and Captain Davis pitched his canoa ashore and landed with his men. Captain Swan and most of his men did not think it convenient to attempt anything, seeing the town was alarmed ; but at last, being upbraided for cowardice, they landed also. The place where we landed was about two miles from the town. It was overgrown with woods so thick that we could not march through in the night, and therefore we sat down, waiting for the light of day. We had two Indian pilots with us, one that had been with us a month, whom we found very faithful, and the other taken by us two or three days before. This latter was led by one of Captain Davis's men, who seemed very anxious to go to the town, and upbraided others with faint-heartedness. Yet this man, notwithstanding his courage, secretly cut the string with which the guide was made fast, and let him go to the town by himself, not caring to follow him. Then when he thought the guide had got far enough from us, he cried out that the pilot was gone, and that somebody had cut the cord that tied him. This set everybody searching for the Indian, but all in vain ; and our consternation was so great, we being in the dark and among woods, that the design was wholly dashed, for not a man after that had the heart to speak of going farther. Here we stayed till day, and then rowed out into the middle of the river, where we had a fair view of the town ; which lay rather more than a mile away. They did not fire one gun at us, nor we at them. Thus our design on Guiaquil failed ; though Captain Townley and Captain Francis Gronet took it a little while after this. We then rowed

down the river and arrived at Puna on the morning of the ninth day. On our way there we went aboard the three ships laden with negroes, and carried them away with us. There were a thousand of them, all lusty young men and women. Arriving at Puna, we sent a canoa to Punta Arena, to see if our ships had come. She returned on the 12th, with tidings that they were both there at anchor, so in the afternoon we all went aboard, taking about forty of the stoutest negro men and leaving their three ships with the rest.

There was never a greater opportunity put into the hands of men to enrich themselves than we had then, if we had gone with these negroes and settled ourselves at Santa Maria on the Isthmus of Darien, and employed them in getting gold out of the mines there. Which might have been done with ease, for about six months before this Captain Harris coming overland with his privateers had routed the Spaniards away from the town and gold mines, so that they had never attempted to settle there since. Add to this, that the neighbouring Indians, who were mortal enemies to the Spaniards, and had been flushed by their successes against them, through the assistance of the privateers, for several years, were our fast friends, and ready to receive and assist us. We had, as I have said, a thousand negroes to work for us, and 200 tons of flour that lay at the Gallapagos. Moreover there was the River of Santa Maria where we could careen and fit our ships and might so fortify the mouth that if all the Spaniards in Peru had come against us we could have kept them out. If they lay with strong guard-ships to keep us in, yet we had a great country to live in, and a great nation of Indians that were our friends. Besides (which was the principal thing) we had the North Seas to befriend us, on which we could export ourselves and effects, or import goods and men to our assistance. For in a short time we should have had

help from all parts of the West Indies. Many thousands of privateers from Jamaica and the French Islands especially would have flocked over to us ; and long before this time we might have been masters not only of those mines (the richest gold-mines ever yet found in America) but of all the coast as high as Quito. And much more than I say might then probably have been done.

But these may seem to the reader but golden dreams. To leave them therefore : the thirteenth day we sailed from Punta Arena towards Plata, where we divided the spoil taken in the cloth-bark into two lots, Captain Davis and his men having one and Captain Swan and his men the other. At this time there were at Plata a great many large turtles, and our strikers brought aboard every day more than we could eat. Captain Swan had no striker, and therefore had no turtle but what was sent him from Captain Davis, from whom he also received all his flour. But since our disappointment at Guiaquil, Captain Davis's men murmured against Captain Swan and did not willingly give him any provision, because he was not so eager to go there as Captain Davis. However, at last these differences were made up, and we decided to go into the Bay of Panama, to a town called La Velia.

CHAPTER VIII

IN THE BAY OF PANAMA

THE 23rd day of December we sailed from the Island Plata towards the Bay of Panama. On the 28th at midnight we arrived at the village of Tomaco, where we took all the inhabitants, and a Spanish knight called Don Diego de Pinas.

The 1st day of January, 1685, we went from Tomaco towards Gallo. While we were rowing over, one of our canoas took a packet boat that was sent from Panama to Lima. From the letters it carried we understood that the Armada from Old Spain was come to Portobel, and that the President of Panama had sent this packet on purpose to hasten the Plate Fleet thither from Lima.

We were very joyful at this news, and altered our former resolutions of going to La Velia, deciding to careen our ships as speedily as we could, that we might be ready to intercept this fleet among the King's Islands or Pearl Keys. Accordingly we sailed next morning.

[Here they cruised for several months, taking various prizes. They thought of attempting to take Panama, but reports of its strength deterred them from such an enterprise.]

On May 25 our canoas returned from Chepelio with three prisoners whom they took there. They were seamen belonging to Panama, who said that provision there was so scarce and dear that the poor were almost starved, being deprived by us of their daily supply of plantains. The President of Panama, they said, had strictly ordered

that none should venture to any of the islands for plantains, but necessity had compelled them to disobey. They further stated that the fleet from Lima was expected every day, and the report at Panama was that King Charles II of England was dead and that the Duke of York was crowned King.

We had a very wet morning on the 28th, but about eleven o'clock it cleared up, and we saw the Spanish fleet about three leagues W.N.W. from the Island of Pacheque. We were riding a league S.E. from the island, between it and the Main, while Captain Gronet was about a mile to the north of us near the island. He weighed as soon as they came in sight, and stood over for the Main ; and we lay still waiting for him to tack and come to us, but he took care to keep out of harm's way.

Captains Swan and Townley came aboard of Captain Davis to order how to engage the enemy, who we saw came purposely to fight us, they being in all fourteen sail, beside periaguas. Their strength of men from Lima was 3000, and for greater security they had first landed their treasure at Lavelia.

Our fleet consisted of ten sail and we had in all 960 men. But though Captain Gronet did not come to us till all was over, we were not discouraged, but resolved to fight them. It was three o'clock in the afternoon when we weighed, and being all under sail, we bore down right before the wind on our enemies ; but night came on without anything beside the exchanging of a few shots on either side. When it grew dark the Spanish admiral put out a light as a signal for his fleet to come to anchor. We saw this light in the admiral's top ; it continued for half an hour, and then it was taken down. A short time after we saw it again, and being to windward kept under sail, supposing it still to be in the admiral's ship. But as it proved, this was only a stratagem of theirs ; for this second light was put at the

topmast head of one of their barks, which was then sent to leeward and so deceived us.

In the morning therefore, contrary to our expectation, we found they had got the weather-gage of us, and were coming upon us with full sail ; so we ran for it, and after a running fight all day, and having taken a turn almost round the Bay of Panama, we came to an anchor again at the Isle of Pacheque, in the very same place from which we set out in the morning.

Thus ended this day's work, and with it all that we had been projecting for five or six months. Instead of making ourselves masters of the Spanish fleet and treasure, we were glad to escape them ; and owed that too, in a great measure, to their want of courage to pursue their advantage.

The twentieth day in the morning when we looked out we saw the Spanish fleet all together three leagues to leeward of us at anchor. There was but little wind till ten o'clock, when a light breeze sprang up in the south, and they sailed away to Panama. What loss they had I know not ; we lost but one man. Having held a consultation, we resolved to go to the Keys of Quibo [Coiba] to seek Captain Harris, who was forced away from us in the fight, that being the place appointed for our rendezvous in case of any such accident. As for Gronet, he said his men would not suffer him to join us in the fight ; but we were not satisfied with that excuse, so we allowed him to go with us to the Isles of Quibo, and there cashiered our cowardly companion. Some were for taking from him the ship which we had given him ; but at length he was permitted to keep it with his men, and we sent them away in it to some other place.

CHAPTER IX

EXPEDITIONS ASHORE

IT was the 15th day of June when we arrived at Quibo, and found Captain Harris. The next day Captain Swan came to an anchor by us, and then our captains consulted about new methods to advance their fortunes; and because they were now hopeless of getting anything at sea, they resolved to try what the land would afford. They asked our pilots what towns on the coast of Mexico they could carry us to, and the city of Leon, being the chief in the country near us, though a good way within land, was pitched on. But now we wanted canoas to land our men, and we had no other way but to cut down trees and make as many as we had occasion for, these islands affording plenty of large trees fit for our purpose. While this was doing, we sent 150 men to take Puebla Nova to get provision. They did so with ease, but got no provision there, and returned on the 24th. They captured an empty bark on their way and brought her to us.

On July 5, Captain Knight came to us. He had made his way into the Bay of Panama, hoping to find us there enriched with the spoils of the Lima fleet, but had heard from a prisoner that we had been worsted, and since that had directed our course to the west; and therefore he came hither to seek us. He presently consorted with us and set his men to make canoas.

The 20th day of July we sailed from Quibo, bending our course for Rea Lejo, the port for Leon, the city that we now designed to attack. We were now 640 men in eight

ships commanded by Captains Davis, Swan, Townley, and Knight. On August 9, we left our ships under the charge of a few men, and 520 of us went away in thirty-one canoas, rowing towards the harbour of Rea Lejo, which we entered during the night. The next morning, as soon as it was light, we rowed into the creek which leads towards Leon. It is very narrow, the land on both sides lying so low that the sea overflows it at every tide. This sort of land produces red mangrove-trees, which are here so plentiful and thick that there is no passing through them. Beyond these mangroves on the firm land close to the river the Spaniards have built a breast-work, purposely to hinder an enemy from landing. When we came in sight of it, we rowed as fast as we could to get ashore ; but the noise of our oars alarmed the Indians who were set to watch, and presently they ran away towards the city of Leon to give notice of our approach. We landed as soon as we could, and marched after them. 470 men were drawn out to march to the town, and I was left with fifty-nine more to stay and guard the canoas till their return.

The city of Leon is twenty miles up in the country, and is a very healthy place, though it has no great trade, and is therefore not rich in money. Thither our men were now marching, having left the canoas at about eight o'clock. Captain Townley with eighty of the briskest men went first, Captain Swan with 100 men next, Captain Davis with 170 marched next, and Captain Knight brought up the rear. Captain Townley, who was nearly two miles ahead of the rest, met about seventy horsemen before he came to the city, but they could not withstand him. At about three o'clock he entered the town, only with his eighty men, and was briskly charged in a broad street by 200 Spanish horsemen ; but two or three of their leaders being knocked down, the rest fled. Their foot consisted of about 500

men, which were drawn up in the parade, but seeing their horse retire these also left an empty city to Captain Townley, beginning to save themselves by flight. Captain Swan came in about four o'clock, Captain Davis with his men about five, and Captain Knight with as many as he could encourage to march about six, but he left many men tired on the road ; and these, as is usual, came dropping in one or two at a time as they were able. The next morning the Spaniards killed one of our tired men, a stout old grey-headed fellow aged about eighty-four, who had served under Oliver Cromwell in the time of the Irish rebellion ; after which he was at Jamaica, and had followed privateering ever since. He would not accept the offer made him to tarry ashore, but said he would venture as far as the best of them ; and when surrounded by the Spaniards he refused to take quarter, but discharged his gun amongst them, so they shot him dead at a distance. They also took Mr Smith, a merchant belonging to Captain Swan. He being asked how many men we were said 1000 at the city and 500 at the canoas, which was just as well for us at the canoas, who straggling about every day might easily have been destroyed. But this so daunted the Governor, that he never offered to molest our men, though he had with him above 1000 followers, as Mr Smith guessed. He sent in a flag of truce about noon, pretending to ransom the town rather than let it be burnt. Our captains demanded 300,000 pieces of eight for its ransom, and as much provision as would victual 1000 men four months, and Mr Smith to be exchanged for some of their prisoners. But the Spaniards did not intend to ransom the town, but only capitulated day after day to prolong time, till they had got more men. Our captains therefore, considering the distance they were from the canoas, resolved to be marching down. On the morning of the 14th, they ordered the city to be set on fire, which was presently done, and then

they came away, but they took more time in coming down than in going up. Then our captains sent a letter to the Governor to inform him that they intended next to visit Rea Lejo, and desired to meet him there. They also released a gentleman on his promise to pay 150 beefs for his ransom, and to deliver them up to us at Rea Lejo. The next morning we all entered our canoas and came to the harbour of Rea Lejo, and in the afternoon our ships came thither to an anchor. We approached the town without any opposition, and found nothing but empty houses; except for such things as the inhabitants could not carry away, such as 500 bags of flour, and some pitch, tar, and cordage. These things we wanted, and therefore we sent them all aboard. We visited the beef-farm and the sugar-works every day, going in small companies, each man bringing away his load (for we found no horses there). We stayed here from the 17th to the 24th, and then some of our destructive crew set fire to the houses. I know not by whose order, but we marched away and left them burning. At the breastwork we embarked into our canoas and returned aboard our ships.

The next day Captain Davis and Captain Swan broke off consortship; for Captain Davis was minded to return to the coast of Peru, but Captain Swan desired to go farther to the westward. I had till this time been with Captain Davis, but now left him, not from any dislike to my old captain, but to get some knowledge of the northern parts of this continent of Mexico. Moreover I knew that Captain Swan determined to coast it as far north as he thought convenient, and then pass over to the East Indies, which was a way very agreeable to my inclination. Captain Townley, with his two barks, resolved to keep us company; but Captains Knight and Harris followed Captain Davis, who went out of the harbour with his ships on the 27th.

We stayed here some time afterwards to fill our water and cut firewood ; but our men, who had been very healthy till now, began to fall down apace in fevers. On the 3rd of September we turned ashore all our prisoners and pilots, they being unacquainted farther to the west, which was the coast we designed to visit.

We went from hence at ten o'clock in the morning of the same day, and met with very bad weather as we sailed along this coast. Seldom a day passed but we had one or two violent tornadoes.

We kept a good distance from the shore, and saw no land till the 14th, when the volcano of Guatemala appeared in sight. This is a very high mountain with two peaks like sugar loaves. It often belches forth flames and smoke from between the two heads ; and this, so the Spaniards report, happens chiefly in tempestuous weather. It is so called from the City of Guatemala, near its foot, a city famous for many rich commodities yearly sent to Europe, especially four rich dyes, indigo, otta, silvester, and cochineel. As we came nearer the land the sea was full of floating trees or driftwood, and pumice stones floating ; the latter being probably thrown out of the burning mountains and washed down to the shore by the rains, which are very violent and frequent in this country.

On the 26th we sailed again, coasting to the westward, and came to Guatulco. Here formerly stood a small Spanish town which was taken by Sir Francis Drake, but there is nothing remaining of it besides a little chapel.

At this place Captain Swan, who had been very ill, came ashore with all his sick men, and the surgeon to tend them. Captain Townley with 140 men (of whom I was one) went ashore on October 6, taking an Indian captured the day before as a guide. We went fourteen miles inland before we came to any settlement. There we found a small

Indian village, and in it a great quantity of vinellos drying in the sun.

The vinello is a little pod full of small black seeds and grows on a small vine. It is commonly sold for three-pence a pod among the Spaniards in the West Indies, being much used among chocolate to perfume it.

CHAPTER X

MORE DISAPPOINTMENTS

IT was the 12th of October, 1685, when we set out from the harbour of Guatulco with our ships. We coasted along to the westward, keeping as near the shore as we could. The 2nd day of November we passed by a rock called by the Spaniards the Alcatross, and the next day anchored abreast of a river four leagues farther west. In the morning we manned our canoas and went ashore to the breast-work (made by the Spaniards to hinder an enemy from landing) with little resistance, although there were about 200 men to keep us off. Here we found a great deal of salt, brought hither, as I judge, to salt the fish which they take in the lagoons.

We marched two or three leagues into the country, and met with but one house, where we took a mulatto prisoner, who informed us of a ship lately arrived at Acapulco from Lima. Captain Townley wanting a good ship, thought now he had an opportunity of getting one, if he could persuade his men to venture with him into the harbour of Acapulco and fetch this Lima ship out. Therefore he immediately proposed it, and found not only all his own men willing to assist him, but many of Captain Swan's also. Captain Swan opposed it, because provision being scarce with us, he thought our time might be much better employed in first providing ourselves with food. But neither the present necessity nor yet their own interest availed anything, for the great design we had then in hand was to lie and wait for a ship which comes to Acapulco

every year richly laden from the Philippine Islands. But it was necessary we should be well stored with provisions, to enable us to cruise about and wait the time of her coming. However, Townley's party prevailing, we only took in water here, and made ready to be gone. So the fifth day in the afternoon we sailed again, and on the evening of the seventh Captain Townley went away from the ships with 140 men in twelve canoas to try to get the Lima ship out of Acapulco harbour. They had not rowed above three or four leagues before the voyage was like to end with all their lives; for they were suddenly encountered with a violent tornado from the shore, which came near to foundering all the canoas. But they escaped that danger, and the second night got safe into Port Marquis, a very good harbour a league to the east of Acapulco. Here they stayed all the next day to dry themselves, their clothes, their arms, and ammunition, and the next night they rowed softly into Acapulco harbour. To prevent being heard they hauled in their oars and paddled as softly as if they had been seeking manatee. They paddled close to the castle; then struck over to the town, and found the ship riding between the breast-work and the fort, within about a hundred yards of each. When they had well viewed her, and considered the danger of the design, they thought it impossible to accomplish it; therefore they paddled softly back again, till they were out of range of the forts. Then they went to land, and fell in among a company of Spanish soldiers (for the Spaniards had seen them the day before and set guards along the coast) who immediately fired at them, but did them no damage, only made them retire farther from the shore. They lay afterwards at the mouth of the harbour till it was day, to take a view of the town and castle, and then returned aboard again, being tired, hungry, and sorry for their disappointment.

The eleventh day we sailed farther west and anchored in a long sandy bay. We went ashore, about 170 of us, and marched into the country twelve or fourteen miles. There we came to a poor Indian village that did *not* afford us a meal of victuals. The people all fled, except a mulatto woman and three or four small children, who were taken and brought aboard. She told us that a carrier (one who drives a caravan of mules) was going to Acapulco laden with flour and other goods, but stopped in the road for fear of us a little to the west of this village, and she thought he still remained there. We therefore kept the woman to be our guide to this place. She took us through a pathless wood by the side of a river for about a league. Then we came to a savannah full of bulls and cows; and here the carrier was lying at the estansion-house¹ with his mules. He had forty packs of flour, some chocolate, a great many small cheeses, and abundance of earthenware. The eatables we brought away on the mules to the shore. Here also we killed some cows and brought them with us to our canoas. In the afternoon our ships came to an anchor half a mile from the place where we landed, and then we went aboard. We afterwards gave the woman some clothes for her and her children, and put her and two of them ashore, but one of them, a pretty boy about seven or eight years old, Captain Swan kept. The woman cried and begged hard to have him; but Captain Swan would not give him up, but *promised to make much of him*, and was as good as his word. He proved afterwards a very fine boy for wit, courage, and dexterity; and I have often wondered at his expressions and actions.

The twenty-first day in the evening we sailed hence with a land wind. We had fair weather and coasted along to the westward. The land is high and full of ragged hills. On the twenty-sixth day Captain Swan and Captain Townley,

¹ Farmhouse.

with 200 men (of whom I was one) went in our canoas to seek for the city of Colima, a rich place by report, but how far within land I could never learn, for our search was fruitless. We rowed above twenty leagues along shore, and found it a very bad coast to land. There was no sign of house or habitation except at two places, where we saw a horseman set, as we supposed, as a sentinel to watch us. At both places we landed with difficulty and followed the track of the horse on the sandy bay, but lost it as soon as it entered the woods. So the twenty-eighth day, being tired and hopeless of finding any town, we went aboard our ships.

On the 1st of December we passed by the port of Sallagua. This port is in latitude $18^{\circ} 52'$. It is only a pretty deep bay, divided in the middle by a rocky point which makes, as it were, two harbours. Here we saw a great many Spaniards both horse and foot, with drums beating and colours flying in defiance of us, as we thought. We took no notice of them till next morning, and then landed about 200 men to try their courage, but they presently withdrew. The foot never stayed to exchange a shot, but the horsemen stayed till two or three were knocked down, and then they drew off, our men pursuing them. At last, two of our men took two horses that had lost their riders, and rode after the Spaniards full drive till they came among them. They intended to have taken a prisoner for intelligence, but had like to have been taken themselves; for four Spaniards surrounded and unhorsed them, and if some of our best footmen had not come to their rescue they must have yielded or been killed. They were both cut in two or three places, but their wounds were not mortal. The four Spaniards got away and speeded after their comrades into the country. Our men finding a broad road leading inland followed it about four leagues, but seeing no sign of inhabitants, returned again. On their way back

they took two mulattos, who informed us that this great road led to a city called Oarrha, from which many of the afore-mentioned horsemen came. The city was four days' journey, there was no place of consequence nearer, and the country was very poor and thinly inhabited. They also said that these men came to assist the Philippine ship, that was every day expected here, to put ashore passengers for Mexico. The Spanish pilot-books mention a town also called Sallagua hereabouts ; but we could not find it, nor hear anything of it from our prisoners.

We now intended to cruise off Cape Corrientes, to wait for the Philippine ship, so on the 6th of December we set sail, coasting to the westward. On the eleventh day we were fair in sight of the Cape, and it was arranged that Captain Swan should lie eight or ten leagues off shore, and the rest about a league distant from each other between him and the Cape so that we might not miss the Philippine ship. But we wanted provisions, so we sent Captain Townley's bark with fifty or sixty men to the west to search for some town or plantations, the rest of us in the meantime cruising in our stations. They returned on the seventeenth day, but had got nothing, for they could not round the Cape. However, they left four canoas with forty-six men at the Cape, who resolved to row to the westward. Next day we sailed to the Keys of Chametly to fill our water. These islands are about sixteen or eighteen leagues to the east of Cape Corrientes. We anchored between them and the mainland on the 20th, and found good fresh water and wood, and caught plenty of rock-fish with hook and line ; but saw no sign of inhabitants besides three or four old huts. On the 21st Captain Townley went away with sixty men to take an Indian village, and the next day we went to cruise off the Cape, where he was to meet us. Here the four canoas before mentioned came off to us. They, after Captain Townley's bark left them, passed to the west of the Cape

and rowed into the Valley of Valderas, where they landed thirty-seven men and marched into the country seeking for some houses. They had not gone more than three miles before they were attacked by 150 Spaniards, horse and foot. There was a small thin wood close by, into which our men retreated to secure themselves from the fury of the horse. Yet the Spaniards rode in among them and attacked them very furiously, till their captain and seventeen more tumbled dead off their horses ; then the rest retreated, being many of them wounded. We lost four men, and had two desperately wounded. When the skirmish was over, our men placed these two on horses, and came to their canoas. There they killed one of the horses and dressed it, being afraid to venture into the savannah to kill a bullock. When they had eaten and satisfied themselves they returned aboard. The twenty-fifth day, being Christmas, we cruised in pretty near the Cape, and sent in three canoas with the strikers to get fish, being desirous to have a Christmas dinner. In the afternoon they returned with three great Jew-fish, which feasted us all.

Captain Townley, who left us at Chametly, came aboard the twenty-eighth day, and brought about forty bushels of maize.

We cruised off the Cape till the 1st day of January, 1686, and then made towards the Valley of Valderas to hunt for beef. Here we killed and salted above two months' meat, besides what we ate fresh ; and might have killed as much more, if we had been better supplied with salt. Our hopes of meeting the Philippine ship were now over ; for we all concluded that while we were obliged to hunt here for provisions, she had passed by to the eastward, as indeed she had, according to information we received afterwards from prisoners. So this design failed through Captain Townley's eagerness after the Lima ship which he attempted in Acapulco harbour, as I have related.

Hitherto we had coasted along here with two different designs. The one was to get the Manila ship, which would have enriched us beyond measure, and this Captain Townley was most for. The other, which Captain Swan and our crew were most for, was to search along the coast for rich towns and mines, chiefly of gold and silver, not knowing (as we afterwards found) that it was in effect an inland country, its wealth remote from the South Sea coast and having little or no commerce with it, its trade being driven eastward with Europe by La Vera Cruz. Yet we still had some expectation of mines, and so resolved to steer on farther northward ; but Captain Townley, whose only design was to meet this ship, resolved to return towards the coast of Peru. So here we parted ; he to the eastward, and we to the westward, intending to search as far to the westward as the Spaniards were settled.

It was the 7th day of January when we sailed from this pleasant valley. On the 20th we anchored about three miles east of the Islands of Chametly, different from those of that name before mentioned, for these are six small islands in latitude $23^{\circ} 11'$, a little to the south of the Tropic of Cancer. Six or seven leagues N.N.W. there is a small narrow entrance into a lake, which runs about twelve leagues easterly, parallel with the shore, making many small low mangrove islands. It is called by the Spaniards Rio de Sal, for it is a Salt lake. There is water enough for boats and canoas to enter, and smooth landing after you are in. On the west side of it, there is a house, and an estantion, or farm of large cattle. Our men went into the lake and landed, and coming to the house, found seven or eight bushels of maize ; but the cattle were driven away by the Spaniards a great way inland for fear we should kill them. On the 2nd of February [1686] Captain Swan went away with about eighty men to the River Rosario, where they landed, and marched to an Indian town of the same

name. They found it about nine miles from the sea—a fine little town, chiefly inhabited by Indians. Some prisoners they took there told them that the River Rosario was rich in gold, and that the mines were not above two leagues from the town. Captain Swan did not think it convenient to go to the mines, but made haste aboard with the maize he took there to the quantity of eighty or ninety bushels, which to us in our scarcity of provisions was at that time more valuable than all the gold in the world. On February 11 he sent seventy men in four canoas into the River St Jago to seek a town. An Indian they seized said that there was a town called Santa Pecaque four leagues away, and that if we desired to go thither, he would undertake to be our guide. Captain Swan immediately ordered his men to make ready, and the same evening went away with eight canoas and 140 men.

He rowed about five leagues up the river and landed the next morning, reaching the town by ten o'clock. The Spaniards seeing him coming all ran away, so he entered the town without the least opposition. The chief occupation of the inhabitants is husbandry, but there are also some carriers who are employed by the merchants of Compostella, to trade for them to and from the mines.

Compostella is a rich town twenty-one leagues away, and the chief in all this part of the kingdom. The silver mines where, as we were told, the inhabitants kept some hundreds of slaves at work, are about six or seven leagues from Santa Pecaque, and the carriers convey the ore to Compostella where it is refined. These carriers, or sutlers, also furnish the slaves at the mines with maize, of which there was plenty now in the town designed for that use, besides sugar, salt, and salt fish.

Captain Swan's only business at Santa Pecaque was to get provisions: therefore he ordered his men to divide themselves into two parts, and by turns carry them down

to the canoas ; one half remaining in the town to secure what they had taken, while the other half were going and coming. On the 18th a prisoner was captured who said that there were nearly 1000 men of all colours in arms at a place called St Jago, only three leagues away, and the chief town on the river. The captain, fearing the ill consequences of separating his small company, was resolved the next day to march away with the whole party, and therefore ordered his men to catch as many horses as they could, that they might carry the more provision with them. But they refused to go, and said that they would not leave the town till all the provision was in the canoas. He was therefore forced to yield to them, and allowed half the company to go as before. They had now fifty-four horses laden, which Captain Swan ordered to be tied to one another, and the men to go in two bodies, twenty-five before and as many behind. But the men would go at their own rate, every man leading his horse. The Spaniards observed their manner of marching, and laid an ambush about a mile from the town, managing it with such success, that falling on our body of men who were guarding the canoas they killed every one. Captain Swan hearing the report of their guns ordered the men who were in the town with him to march out to their assistance, and when he came to the place where the engagement had been, saw all those who had gone out in the morning lying dead. They were stripped, and so cut and mangled that he scarcely knew one man. But though he had now no more men with him than those who had been killed, the Spaniards never came to oppose him, but kept at a great distance, probably having suffered severe losses themselves. So he marched down to the canoas, and went aboard the ship with the maize that was already in them.

The day after this fatal skirmish near Santa Pecaque, Captain Swan ordered all our water to be filled, and we got

ready to sail. We departed on the twenty-first day, directing our course towards California, and on the seventh day came to an anchor at the east end of the middle island of Las Tres Marias, in order to careen. Here the captain proposed to go into the East Indies. Many were well pleased with the voyage ; but some thought, such was their ignorance, that he would carry them out of the world ; for about two-thirds of our men did not think there was any such way to be found. However, at last he gained their consent.

We stayed here till the twenty-sixth day, and then, both vessels being clean, we sailed to the Valley of Balderas to water. Having provided ourselves, we had nothing more to do than to put into execution our intended expedition to the East Indies, in hopes of some better success there than we had met with on this little frequented coast, where instead of profit we met with little besides fatigues, hardships, and losses. But to do right to Captain Swan, he had no intention of being a privateer in the East Indies ; but, as he often assured me with his own mouth, resolved to take the first opportunity of returning to England. So he feigned compliance with some of his men who were bent upon going to cruise at Manila, that he might have leisure to take some favourable chance of quitting the privateer trade.

most with them was his promising them, as I have said, to cruise off the Manilas.¹ So he and his men being now agreed, and they encouraged with the hope of gain; which works its way through all difficulties, we set out from Cape Corrientes on March 31, 1686. We were two ships in company, Captain Swan's ship, and a bark commanded under Captain Swan, by Captain Teat, and we were 150 men, 100 aboard of the ship, and fifty aboard the bark, besides slaves, as I said.

After the 31st of March we made great runs every day, having very fair clear weather, and a fresh Trade Wind, which we made use of with all our sails, and we made many good observations of the sun. At our first setting out, we steered into the latitude of 13° , which is near the latitude of Guam; then we steered west, keeping in that latitude. By the time we had sailed twenty days, our men seeing we made such great runs, and the wind likely to continue, repined because they were kept at such short allowance. Captain Swan endeavoured to persuade them to have a little patience; yet nothing but an augmentation of their daily allowance would appease them. Captain Swan, though with much reluctance, gave way to a small enlargement of our commons, for now we had not above ten spoonfuls of boiled maize per man, once a day, whereas before we had eight. I do believe that this short allowance did me a great deal of good, though others were weakened by it; for I found that my strength increased, and my dropsy wore off. One of our men in the midst of these hardships was found guilty of theft, and condemned for the same to have three blows from each man in the ship with a two-inch-and-a-half rope on his bare back. Captain

see one fish, not so much as a flying fish, nor any sort of fowl, but at one time, when we were by my account 4975 miles west from Cape Corrientes. Then we saw a great number of boobies, which we supposed came from some rocks not far from us.

After we had run the 1900 leagues by our reckoning, which made the English account to Guam, the men began to murmur against Captain Swan for persuading them to come this voyage ; but he gave them fair words, and told them that the Spanish account might probably be the truest, and seeing the gale was likely to continue, a short time longer would end our troubles.

The 20th day of May, our bark being about three leagues ahead of our ship sailed over a rocky shoal, on which there was but four fathoms of water, and abundance of fish swimming about the rocks. They imagined by this that the land was not far off ; so they clapped on a wind with the bark's head to the north, and being past the shoal, lay by for us. When we came up with them, Captain Teat came aboard us, and related what he had seen. We were then in latitude $12^{\circ} 55'$ steering west. The Island of Guam is laid down in latitude 13° N. by the Spaniards, who are masters of it, keeping it as a baiting-place as they go to the Philippine Islands. Therefore we clapped on a wind and stood to northward, being somewhat troubled and doubtful whether we were right, because there is no shoal laid down in the Spanish drafts, about the island. At four o'clock, to our great joy, we saw Guam at about eight leagues' distance.

It was well for Captain Swan that we got sight of it before our provision was spent, of which we had but enough for three days more ; for, as I was afterward informed, the men had contrived, first to kill Captain Swan and eat him when the victuals were gone, and after him all of us who were accessory in promoting the under-

taking of this voyage. This made Captain Swan say to me after our arrival at Guam, "Ah! Dampier, you would have made them but a poor meal."—for I was as lean as the Captain was lusty and fleshy.

The 21st day of May, 1686, at eleven o'clock in the evening, we anchored near the middle of the Island of Guam, on the west side, a mile from the shore. At a distance it appears flat and even, but coming near it you will find it stands shelving, and the east side, which is much the highest, is fenced with steep rocks that oppose the violence of the sea which continually rages against it, being driven with the constant Trade Wind, and on that side there is no anchoring. The west side is pretty low, and full of small sandy bays, divided with as many rocky points. The soil of the island is reddish, dry, and indifferent fruitful. The fruits are chiefly rice, pineapples, water-melons, musk-melons, oranges and limes, coco-nuts, and a sort of fruit called by us bread-fruit.

The coco-nut trees grow by the sea, on the western side in great groves three or four miles in length and a mile or two broad. The nut or fruit grows at the head of the tree, amongst the branches and in clusters, ten or twelve in a cluster. The branch to which they grow is about the bigness of a man's arm, and as long, running small towards the end. It is of a yellow colour, full of knots, and very tough. The nut is generally bigger than a man's head. The outer rind is nearly two inches thick, before you come to the shell, which is black, thick, and very hard. The kernel in some nuts is nearly an inch thick, sticking to the inside of the shell all round, leaving a hollow in the middle of it which contains about a pint, more or less, according to the size of the nut, for some are much bigger than others.

This cavity is full of sweet, delicate, wholesome, and refreshing water. While the nut is growing, all the inside is full of this water, without any kernel at all; but as the

nut grows towards its maturity, the kernel begins to gather and settle round on the inside of the shell, and is soft like cream ; and as the nut ripens, it increases in substance and becomes hard. The ripe kernel is sweet enough, but very hard to digest, therefore seldom eaten, unless by strangers, who know not the effects of it ; but while it is young and soft like pap, some men will eat it, scraping it out with a spoon, after they have drunk the water that was within it. I like the water best when the nut is almost ripe, for it is then sweetest and briskest.

When these nuts are ripe and gathered, the outside rind becomes of a brown rusty colour ; so that one would think that they were dead and dry ; yet they will sprout out like onions, after they have been hanging in the sun three or four months, or thrown about in a house or ship ; and if planted afterwards in the earth, they will grow up into a tree. Before they thus sprout out, a small spongy round knob grows in the inside, which we call an apple. This at first is no bigger than the top of one's finger, but increases daily, sucking up the water till it is grown so big as to fill up the cavity of the coco-nut, and then it begins to sprout forth. You may let these teeming nuts sprout out a foot and a half or two foot high before you plant them, for they will grow a great while like an onion, out of their own substance.

Beside the liquor or water in the fruit, there is also a sort of wine drawn from the tree called *toddy*, which looks like whey. It is sweet and very pleasant, but it is to be drunk within twenty-four hours after it is drawn, for afterwards it grows sour. Those that have a great many trees draw a spirit from the sour wine, called *arack*. Arack is distilled also from rice and other things in the East Indies ; but none is so much esteemed for making punch as this sort made of toddy, or the sap of the coco-nut tree. This sort of liquor is chiefly used about Goa, and therefore it

has the name of Goa arack. The way of drawing the toddy from the tree is by cutting the top of a branch that would bear nuts, but before it has any fruit, and from thence the liquor which was to feed the fruit distils into the hole of a calabash that is hung upon it. The liquor thus drawn is sold every morning and evening in most towns in the East Indies, and great gain is produced from it even in this way ; but those that distil it and make arack reap the greatest profit. There is also great profit made of the fruit, both of the nut and of the shell.

The kernel is much used in making broth. When the nut is dry, they take off the husk, and giving two good blows in the middle of the nut, break it in two equal parts, letting the water fall on the ground. Then with a small iron rasp the kernel is scraped out clean and put into a little fresh water, making it become white as milk. In this milky water they boil a fowl, or any other sort of flesh. English seamen put boiled rice into it, carrying nuts purposely to sea with them. This they learn from the natives.

But the greatest use of the kernel is to make oil, both for burning and frying. The way to make the oil is to grate the kernel and steep it in fresh water ; then boil it and scum off the oil as it rises. But the nuts ought to be a long time gathered, so that the kernel may be turning soft and oily.

The shell of this nut is used in the East Indies for cups, dishes, ladles, spoons, and in a manner for all eating and drinking vessels. Well-shaped nuts are often brought home to Europe, and much esteemed. The husk of the shell is of great use to make cables ; for the dry husk is full of small strings and threads, which being beaten, become soft, and the other substance which was mixed among it falls away like sawdust, leaving only the strings. These are afterward spun into long yarns, and twisted up into

balls for convenience ; and many of these rope-yarns joined together make good cables. This manufactory is chiefly used at the Maldivé Islands, and the threads sent in balls into all places that trade thither, purposely for to make cables. I made a cable at Achin with some of it. These are called coir cables, and they will last very well. In the South Seas the Spaniards make oakum to caulk their ships with the husk of the coco-nut. It is more serviceable than that made of hemp, and they say it will never rot. I have been told that in some places of India they make a sort of coarse cloth of the husk of the coco-nut, which is used for sails. I myself have seen a sort of coarse sailcloth made of such a kind of substance, but whether the same or no I know not.

The lime is a sort of crab-lemon. The tree or bush that bears it is prickly, like a thorn, growing full of small boughs. In Jamaica and other places they make of the lime-bush fences about gardens, or any other enclosure, by planting the seeds close together, which growing up thick, spread abroad and make a very good hedge. The fruit is like a lemon, but smaller ; the rind thin, and the enclosed substance full of juice. The juice is very tart, yet of a pleasant taste sweetened with sugar. It is chiefly used for making punch, both in the East and West Indies, as well ashore as at sea, and much of it is for that purpose yearly brought home to England, from our West-India plantations.

The bread fruit (as we call it) grows on a large tree, as big and high as our largest apple-trees. It has a spreading head full of branches, and dark leaves. The fruit grows on the boughs like apples, and is as big as a penny loaf, when wheat is at five shillings the bushel. It is of a round shape, and has a thick tough rind. When the fruit is ripe, it is yellow and soft ; and the taste is sweet and pleasant. The natives of this island use it for bread. They gather it

when full grown, while it is green and hard ; then they bake it in an oven, which scorches the rind and makes it black. But they scrape off the outside black crust, and there remains a tender thin crust, and the inside is soft, tender, and white, like the crumb of a penny loaf. There is neither seed nor stone in the inside, but all is of a pure substance like bread. It must be eaten new, for if it is kept above twenty-four hours it becomes dry, and eats harsh and choky ; but it is very pleasant before it is too stale. This fruit lasts in season eight months in the year, during which time the natives eat no other sort of food of bread kind.

The natives of this island are strong-bodied, large-limbed, and well-shaped. They are copper-coloured, like other Indians ; their hair is black and long, their eyes meanly proportioned ; they have pretty high noses ; their lips are pretty full, and their teeth indifferent white. They are long visaged, and stern of countenance ; yet we found them to be affable and courteous. There are many of them troubled with a kind of leprosy. This distemper is very common at Mindanao. They of Guam are otherwise very healthy, especially in the dry season.

The natives are very ingenious beyond any people in making boats, or proes, as they are called in the East Indies, and therein they take great delight. These are built sharp at both ends ; the bottom is of one piece, made like the bottom of a little canoa, very neatly dug, and left of a good substance. This bottom part is instead of a keel, and is about twenty-six or twenty-eight feet long. The under part of this keel is made round, but inclining to a wedge, and smooth ; and the upper part is almost flat, having a very gentle hollow, and is about a foot broad. From hence both sides of the boat are carried up to about five feet high with narrow plank, not above four or five inches broad, and each end of the boat turns up round,

very prettily. But what is very singular, one side of the boat is made perpendicular, like a wall, while the other side is rounding, made as other vessels are, with a pretty full belly. Just in the middle it is about four or five feet broad aloft, or more, according to the length of the boat. The mast stands exactly in the middle, with a long yard that peeks up and down like a mizen-yard. One end of it reaches down to the end or head of the boat, where it is placed in a notch that is made there purposely to receive it and keep it fast. The other end hangs over the stern. To this yard the sail is fastened. At the foot of the sail there is another small yard, to keep the sail out square, and to roll up the sail on when it blows hard ; for it serves instead of a reef to take up the sail to what degree they please, according to the strength of the wind. Along the belly side of the boat, parallel with it, at about six or seven feet distance, lies another small boat, or canoa, being a log of very light wood, almost as long as the great boat, but not above a foot and a half wide at the upper part, and very sharp like a wedge at each end. And there are two bamboos of about eight or ten feet long, and as big as one's leg, placed over the great boat's side, one near each end of it, and reaching about six or seven feet from the side of the boat. By the help of these the little boat is made firm and contiguous to the other. These are generally called by the Dutch, and by the English from them, *out-layers*.¹ The use of them is to keep the great boat upright from over-setting ; because the wind here being constantly east, and the range of these islands, where their business lies to and fro, being mostly north and south, they turn the flat side of the boat against the wind upon which they sail, and the belly-side, consequently with its little boat, is upon the lee. And the vessel having a head at each end, so as to sail with either of them foremost (indifferently) they need

¹ Outriggers.

not tack, or go about, as all our vessels do, but each end of the boat serves either for head or stern as they please. When they ply to windward, and are minded to go about, he that steers bears away a little from the wind, by which means the stern comes to the wind ; which is now become the head, only by shifting the end of the yard. This boat is steered with a broad paddle, instead of a rudder. I have been the more particular in describing these boats because I believe they sail the best of any in the world. For my own satisfaction I tried the swiftness of one of them, which, if it had been no more was after the rate of twelve miles an hour ; but I do believe she would have run twenty-four miles an hour. It was very pleasant to see the little boat running along so swift by the other's side.

The native Indians are no less dexterous in managing, than in building these boats. By report, they will go from hence to another of the Ladrone Islands about thirty leagues off, and there do their business, and return again in less than twelve hours. I was told that one of these boats was sent express to Manila, which is above 400 leagues, and performed the voyage in four days' time. Such proes or boats are used in many places of the East Indies, but with a belly and a little boat on each side.¹

The Indians of Guam have neat little houses very handsomely thatched with palmeto-thatch. They inhabit together in villages built by the sea, on the west side, and have Spanish priests to instruct them in the Christian religion.

The Spaniards have a small fort on the west side, near the south end, with six guns in it. There is a governor, and twenty or thirty Spanish soldiers. There are no more Spaniards on this island, beside two or three priests. Not long before we arrived here the natives rose on the

¹ The double outrigger is still commonly employed by natives in the East to give their long narrow craft stability.

Spaniards to destroy them, and did kill many ; but the governor with his soldiers at length prevailed, and drove them out of the fort. So when they found themselves disappointed of their intent, they destroyed the plantations and stock, and then went away to other islands. There were then three or four hundred Indians on this island, but now there are not more than a hundred, for all that were in this conspiracy went away. As for those who yet remain, if they were not actually concerned in that broil, yet their hearts also are bent against the Spaniards ; for they offered to carry us to the fort, and assist us in the conquest of the island ; but Captain Swan was not for molesting the Spaniards here.

Before we came to an anchor here, one of the priests came aboard in the night with three Indians. They first hailed us to know from whence we came, and what we were ; to whom answer was made in Spanish that we were Spaniards, and that we came from Acapulco. It being dark they could not see the make of our ship, nor very well discern what we were. Therefore they came aboard ; but perceiving the mistake they were in, in taking us for a Spanish ship, they endeavoured to get from us again, but we held their boat fast, and made them come in. Captain Swan received the priest with much civility, and conducting him into the great cabin declared that the reason of our coming to this island was want of provision, and that he came not in any hostile manner, but as a friend to purchase with his money what he wanted. He therefore desired the priest to write a letter to the governor to inform him what we were, and on what account we came. For having him now aboard, the captain was willing to detain him as a hostage till we had provision. The padre told Captain Swan that provision was now scarce on the island ; but he would engage that the governor would do his utmost to furnish us.

In the morning the Indians in whose boat the friar came aboard were sent to the governor with two letters : one from the friar and another very obliging one from Captain Swan, and a present of four yards of scarlet cloth and a piece of broad silver and gold lace. The governor lived about five leagues from the place where we were ; therefore we did not expect an answer till the evening, not knowing how nimble they were. Therefore when the Indian canoa was despatched we hoisted out two of our canoas, and sent one a-fishing and the other ashore for coco-nuts. Our fishing canoa got nothing, but the men that went ashore for coco-nuts came off laden.

About eleven o'clock that same morning the governor of the island sent a letter to Captain Swan, complimenting him for his present, and promising to support us with as much provision as he could possibly spare ; and as a token of his gratitude he sent a present of six hogs of a small sort, most excellent meat, the best, I think, that ever I ate. They are fed with coco-nuts, and their flesh is hard as brisket-beef. He also sent an order to the Indians that lived in a village not far from our ship to bake every day as much bread-fruit as we desired, and to assist us in getting as many dry coco-nuts as we would have ; which they accordingly did, and brought off the bread-fruit every day hot, as much as we could eat. After this the governor sent every day a canoa or two with hogs and fruit, and desired for the same powder, shot, and arms, which were sent according to his request. We had a delicate large English dog which the governor desired and had it given him very freely by the captain, though much against the grain of many of his men who set a great value on that dog. Captain Swan endeavoured to get this governor's letters of recommendation to some merchants at Manila, for he had then a design to go to Fort St George,¹ and from thence

¹ Madras.

to trade to Manila ; but this design was concealed from the company.

While we lay here, the Acapulco ship arrived in sight of the island, but did not come in sight of us ; for the governor sent an Indian proe with advice of our being here. Therefore she stood off to the southward of the island, and coming foul of the same shoal that our bark had run over before, was in great danger of being lost there, for she struck off her rudder, and with much ado got clear, but not till after three days' labour. For though the shoal is so near the island, and the Indians go off and fish there every day, yet the master of the Acapulco ship, who should (one would think) know these parts, was utterly ignorant of it. This their striking on the shoal we heard of afterwards, when we were on the coast of Manila ; but these Indians of Guam spoke of her being in sight of the island while we lay there, which put our men in a great heat to go out after her. But Captain Swan persuaded them out of that humour, for he was now wholly averse to any hostile action.

The 30th day of May, the governor sent his last present, which was some hogs, a jar of pickled mangoes, a jar of excellent pickled fish, and a jar of fine rusk, or bread of fine wheat flour, baked like biscuit but not so hard. He sent besides six or seven packs of rice, desiring to be excused from sending any more provision to us, saying he had no more on the island that he could spare. He sent word also that the west monsoon was at hand, and therefore it behoved us to be jogging from hence, unless we were resolved to return back to America again. Captain Swan returned him thanks for his kindness and advice, and took his leave ; and the same day sent the friar ashore that was seized on our first arrival, and gave him a large brass clock, an astrolabe, and a large telescope ; for which present the friar sent us aboard six hogs, a roasting pig,

three or four bushels of potatoes, and fifty pounds of Manila tobacco. Then we prepared to be gone, being pretty well furnished with provision to carry us to Mindanao, where we designed next to touch. We took aboard us as many coco-nuts as we could well stow, and we had a good stock of rice, and about fifty hogs in salt.

CHAPTER XII

DEPARTURE TO THE PHILIPPINES

WHILE we lay at Guam, we resolved to go to Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands, being told by the friar and others that it was exceedingly well stored with provisions, that the natives were Mahometans and that they had formerly traded with the Spaniards but were now at war with them. Our men, who were apparently very squeamish of plundering without licence, hoped to get a commission there from the Prince of the Island to plunder the Spanish ships about Manila, and so make Mindanao their common rendezvous. And if Captain Swan was minded to go to an English port, yet his men, who thought he intended to leave them, hoped to get vessels and pilots at Mindanao fit for their turn, to cruise on the coast of Manila. As for Captain Swan, he was willing enough to go thither, as best suiting his own design ; and therefore this voyage was decided on by general consent.

Accordingly on June 2, 1686, we left Guam, bound for Mindanao, arriving on the 21st at St John, which is one of the Philippine Islands. The Philippines are a great group of large islands deriving their name from Philip II, King of Spain. Even now most of them belong to that Crown. The chief and most northerly is Luconia. At this island Magellan died on the voyage that he was making round the world. He warred with the native Indians to bring them in obedience to his master the King of Spain, and was killed by them with a poisoned arrow. It is now wholly under the Spaniards, who have several towns there.

The chief is Manilo, a large seaport near the south-east end, and a place of great strength and trade.

On the twenty-second day we reached Mindanao and anchored in a small bay about a mile from the shore. The island is the biggest of all the Philippines except Luconia. It is about sixty leagues long, and forty or fifty broad, very mountainous with fruitful valleys and large trees, most of them of kinds unknown to us.

There is one sort which deserves particular notice, called by the natives libby-trees. These grow wild in great groves five or six miles long, by the sides of the rivers. Of these trees sago is made, which the poor country people eat instead of bread three or four months in the year. In shape they are much like the palmeto ; the bark and wood are hard and thin like a shell, and full of white pith, like that of an elder. This tree they cut down and split in the middle and scrape out all the pith, which they beat lustily with a wooden pestle in a great mortar or trough and then put into a cloth or strainer held over a trough. Then pouring water in among the pith they stir it about in the cloth, so that the water carries all the substance of the pith through the cloth down into the trough, leaving nothing behind but a light sort of husk which they throw away. That which falls into the trough settles in a short time to the bottom like mud, and when the water is drawn off, is taken up and made into cakes, which when baked prove very good bread.

In some places of Mindanao there is plenty of rice, but the king of all fruit I take to be the plantain. As the fruit of this tree is of great use for food, so is the body no less serviceable to make clothes ; but this I never knew till I came to this island. The ordinary people of Mindanao wear no other cloth. The tree never bearing but once, and so being felled when the fruit is ripe, they cut it down close to the ground if they intend to make cloth with it.

One blow with a hatchet will strike it asunder. Then they cut off the top, leaving the trunk eight or ten feet long, and strip off the outer rind which is thickest toward the lower end. The trunk is then split into four, and left in the sun two or three days, in which time the juicy substance of the tree dries away, and the ends appear full of small threads. The women whose employment it is to make the cloth take hold of these threads one by one, which come away easily from one end of the trunk to the other. I observed their cloth to be all of one substance and equal fineness ; but it is stubborn when new, wears out soon, and when wet feels a little slimy.

I have not seen the nutmeg trees anywhere ; but the nutmegs this island produces are fair and large. Nevertheless the natives have no great store of them, being unwilling to propagate them or the cloves, for fear of inviting the Dutch to visit them and bring them into subjection as they have done the neighbouring islands where they grow. For the Dutch being seated among the spice islands have monopolised the trade, and are so careful to preserve it in their own hands that they will not suffer the spice to grow in the uninhabited islands, but send soldiers to cut the trees down.

The betel nut is much esteemed here, as it is in most places of the East Indies. This fruit is bigger than a nutmeg, and much like it, but rounder. Their way is to cut it into four pieces, and wrap one of them up in an arek leaf, which they spread with a soft paste made of lime or plaster, and then chew it altogether. Every man in these parts carries his lime-box by his side, and dipping his finger into it, spreads his betel and arek leaf with it. The betel nut is most esteemed when it is young, before it grows hard, and then they cut it only in two pieces with the green husk or shell on it. It is then exceedingly juicy, and therefore makes them spit much. It tastes rough in

CHAPTER XIII

A DESCRIPTION OF MINDANAO

THIS island is not subject to one prince, neither is the language one and the same ; but the people are much alike in colour, strength, and stature. They are most of them of one religion, which is Mahometanism, and their customs and manner of living are alike.

The Mindanayans proper are men of mean stature, small limbs, straight bodies, and little heads. Their faces are oval, their foreheads flat, with small black eyes, short low noses, and pretty large mouths. Their lips are thin and red, their teeth black, yet very sound, their hair black and straight, the colour of their skin tawny, but inclining to a brighter yellow than some other Indians. It is a custom of theirs to wear the thumb nails very long, especially that on their left thumb, for they never cut it but scrape it often. They are endowed with good sense, and are ingenious, nimble, and active, when so minded ; but generally very lazy and thievish, and will not work unless forced by hunger. They are civil enough to strangers, but implacable to their enemies, and very revengeful if they are injured, frequently poisoning secretly those that have affronted them.

They wear but few clothes. Their heads are encircled with a short turban, fringed or laced at both ends : it goes once about the head, and is tied in a knot, the laced ends hanging down. They wear frocks and breeches but no stockings nor shoes.

The chief city on this island is called by the same name

the mouth, dyes the lips red, and makes the teeth black, but it preserves them and cleanses the gums. It is also accounted very wholesome for the stomach, but will sometimes cause great giddiness in the head of those not accustomed to chew it. But this is the effect only of the old nut.—I speak of my own experience.¹

The weather at Mindanao is temperate enough, though it lies so near the equator, and especially on the borders near the sea. There they commonly enjoy the breezes by day, and cooling land winds at night. The winds are easterly from October to May, and bring fair weather. The westerly winds begin in May and always bring rain, tornadoes, and very tempestuous weather. When these are settled, the sky is all in mourning, being covered with black clouds, pouring down excessive rains sometimes mixed with thunder and lightning, that nothing can be more dismal. The winds rage to that degree that the biggest trees are torn up by the roots, and the rivers swell and overflow their banks and drown the low land, carrying the great trees into the sea. The fiercest of this weather is in the latter end of July and in August, for then the towns seem to stand in a great pond, and the natives go from one house to another in canoas.

¹ See p. 182.

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of Mindanao. It is situated on the south side, in latitude $7^{\circ} 20'$ N. on the banks of a small river, about two miles from the sea. The houses are all built on posts, from fourteen to twenty feet high. They have but one floor, but many partitions or rooms, and a ladder or stair to go up out of the streets. The roof is large and covered with palmeto or palm leaves. So there is a clear passage like a piazza (but a filthy one) under the house, where some of the poorer people keep ducks or hens, having a fence made to go round the posts.

The Sultan's house is much bigger than any of the rest. It stands on about 180 great posts, a great deal higher than the common building, with broad stairs. In the first room he has about twenty iron guns placed on field carriages. There is a small low house near built purposely for the reception of ambassadors or merchant strangers. This also stands on posts, but the floor is not raised above three or four feet from the ground, and is neatly matted for the Sultan and his Council to sit on ; for they use no chairs, but sit cross-legged like tailors on the floor.

The common food at Mindanao is rice or sago, and a small fish or two. They use no spoons to eat their rice, but every man takes a handful out of the platter, and by wetting his hand in water that it may not stick squeezes it into a lump as hard as he can possibly make it, and then crams it into his mouth. They seem to vie with each other in taking the biggest lump, so that sometimes they almost choke themselves. Both men and women take great delight in swimming and washing themselves, being bred to it from their infancy. I do believe it is very wholesome to wash mornings and evenings in these hot countries, at least three or four days in the week ; for I used myself to it when I lived afterwards at Bencooli, and found it very refreshing and comfortable.

There are but few tradesmen at the city of Mindanao.

The chief trades are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and carpenters. These last have no saws, but split a tree in two and make a plank of each part, planing it with the axe and adze.

They build good serviceable ships for trade, pleasure, and war. Their trading vessels they send chiefly to Manila, whither they transport beeswax and a little gold. The Dutch come here in sloops to buy rice, beeswax, and tobacco, a great deal of which grows on this island.

The Sultan is absolute in his power over all his subjects. He is but a poor prince, and if he understands that any man has money he will send to borrow it, and they dare not deny him. When the Sultan visits his friends he is carried in a small couch on four men's shoulders, with eight or ten men to guard him ; but he never goes far this way, for the country is very woody, and has but few paths.

In the Sultan's mosque there is a great drum with but one head, called a gong ; which is used instead of a clock. It is beaten at twelve o'clock, three, six, and nine, a man being appointed for that service. He has a stick as big as a man's arm, with a great knob at the end made of cotton bound fast with small cords, and with this he strikes the gong as hard as he can.

The Sultan has a brother called Raja Laut, a brave man. He is the second man in the kingdom, and all strangers that come hither to trade must make their address to him, for *he controls all sea affairs. He licenses strangers to import or export any commodity, and it is by his permission that the natives themselves are suffered to trade. Even the fishermen must take a permit from him, so that no man can come into the river or go out without his leave. He is two or three years younger than the Sultan, and speaks and writes Spanish. He is General of the Mindanayans, and is accounted an expert soldier. The women in their dances sing many songs in his praise.*

and promising to assist him in getting provision. The captain, considering that the season of the year would oblige us to spend some time at this island, thought it advisable to conciliate the Sultan, who might afterwards either obstruct or advance his designs. He therefore immediately provided a present to send ashore to the Sultan, viz. three yards of scarlet cloth, three yards of broad gold lace, a Turkish scimitar, and a pair of pistols. And to Raja Laut he sent three yards of cloth and three yards of silver lace. This present was carried by Mr Henry More, the quartermaster, who was conducted with torches and armed men to the house where the Sultan with his Council were seated on carpets to await his coming. After an hour's conference he returned aboard, and the next day the Sultan sent for Captain Swan, and after entertaining him with tobacco and betel gave him two letters to read. One of these was sent from England, by the East India merchants, desiring the privilege of building a fort at Mindanao. The other was left by a Captain Goodlud, directed to any Englishmen who might happen to come thither. This related wholly to trade, and concluded thus, "Trust none of them, for they are all thieves." We understood afterwards that Captain Goodlud was robbed of some goods by one of the general's men, who fled into the mountains and could not be found. But the fellow returning to the city some time after our arrival, Raja Laut brought him bound to Captain Swan for punishment. The latter excused himself, and would have nothing to do with it. However, the General Raja Laut would not pardon him, but punished him according to their own custom, which I never saw¹ this time.

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The thief was stripped at sunrise, bound to a post, and placed with his face eastward against the sun. In the afternoon they turned his face towards the west, that the sun might still be in his face ; and thus he stood all day,

neither read nor write, but had formerly learned to dance in the music-houses about Wapping. This man came into the South Seas with Captain Harris, and having acquired a good quantity of gold, laid some of it out in a very good suit of clothes. The general supposed by his garb and his dancing that he had been of noble extraction, and showed him a great deal of respect, till Captain Swan came to know the business, and marred all. He undeceived the general and drubbed the "nobleman"; for he was so much incensed against John Thacker that he could never endure him afterwards, though the poor fellow knew nothing of the matter.

About the middle of November we began to work on our ship's bottom, which we found very much worm-eaten; for this is a horrid place for worms. We did not know this till we had been in the river a month, and then we found our canoas eaten like honey combs. But our ship was sheathed, and the worm came no further than the hair between the sheathing plank and the main plank. We did not mistrust the general's knavery till now; for when he came down and saw the firm bottom underneath the sheathing plank he seemed to be discontented, saying he never saw a ship with two bottoms before. We were told that in this place where we lay a Dutch vessel was eaten up in two months' time, and the general had all her guns; and it is probable that he expected to have ours. This I believe was the main reason that made him so forward in assisting us to get our ship into the river, for when we came out again we had no assistance from him.

Having thus ripped off all our worm-eaten plank and clapped on new, by the beginning of December, 1686, we went over the bar and began to fill our water and fetch aboard rice for our voyage. But Captain Swan remained ashore still, and was not yet determined when to sail, or whither. When we were all aboard on Christmas Day

I expected him to make some proposals, but he only dined and went ashore again, without speaking anything of his mind. Later on the captain was much vexed at the general's actions ; for he promised to supply us with as much beef as we wanted, but now either could not, or would not make good his promise. Besides this, he failed to keep his bargain about some rice we were to have in return for the iron which we sold him. Nor were these all his tricks, for he desired Captain Swan to lend him twenty ounces of gold and then told him that he had received it as a gift. He also demanded payment for the victuals that our captain and his men had eaten at his house. These things startled Captain Swan, yet he did not know how to help himself. All this lay hard on his spirits, and put him very much out of humour ; for his own company were pressing him every day to be gone, because now was the height of the easterly monsoon, the only wind to carry us farther into the Indies.

About this time some of our men, who were weary and tired with wandering, ran away into the country, assisted, as was generally believed, by Raja Laut. Others, fearing we should not go to an English port, bought a canoa and designed to go in her to Borneo, but this Captain Swan took from them, and threatened them very hardly.

The whole crew were at this time under a general disaffection. The main division was between those who had money and those who had none : the former lived ashore and did not care for leaving Mindanao, whilst those that were poor lived aboard, and urged Captain Swan to go to sea. These began to be unruly as well as dissatisfied, and sent ashore iron to sell for rack and honey to make punch, wherewith they grew drunk and quarrelsome. These disorderly actions deterred me from going aboard ; for I always abhorred drunkenness, to which our men now wholly abandoned themselves.

Yet these disorders might have been crushed if Captain Swan had used his authority to suppress them. But he living always ashore with his merchants, there was no command, and therefore every man did what he pleased. At last, however, he consented to declare his mind, and gave warning to all his men to come aboard on the 13th of January, 1687. But unluckily for him, Captain Teat, who had been abused by Captain Swan, took this opportunity to be revenged for his injuries, and persuaded the men to turn out Captain Swan from being commander, hoping to obtain the command for himself. They consented to conceal this design from those that were ashore until the ship was under sail. The thirteenth day in the morning they weighed, and fired a gun. Captain Swan immediately sent aboard Mr Nelly, who was now his chief mate, to see what the matter was. To him they showed their grievances, but he persuaded them to stay till the next day for an answer from Captain Swan and the merchants. So they came to an anchor again, and promised to stay till two o'clock on the morrow for the captain and the rest of the men if they would come aboard. If Captain Swan had yet appeared, he might have dashed all their designs ; but he neither came himself, as a captain of any prudence and courage would have done, nor sent till the time was expired. So we left him and about thirty-six men ashore in the city, and on January 14, 1687, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we sailed from the River of Mindanao, designing to cruise before Manila.¹

¹ John Reed had now become captain.

CHAPTER XV

THE PHILIPPINES

ON the 3rd of February we anchored in a good bay on the west side of an island which had no name that we could find in any book, but lay on the west of the Island Sebo. At this place Captain Reed ordered the carpenters to cut down our quarterdeck to make the ship snug and the fitter for sailing. When that was done we heeled her, scrubbed her bottom, and tallowed it. Then we filled all our water, for here was a delicate small stream.

We stayed here till the 10th of February; and then having completed our business, sailed hence with the wind at north. But going out we struck on a rock, where we lay two hours. It was very smooth water, and the tide of flood, or else we should have lost our ship. We struck off a great piece of our rudder, but received no other damage. This is a very dangerous shoal, and we more narrowly missed losing our ship at this time than in any other in the whole voyage.

After this we coasted along by the rest of the Philippine Islands, and on the 18th of February anchored at the north-west end of the Island of Mindoro. Leaving here on the 21st we reached our long desired Island of Luconia on the morning of the 23rd. This is a large island with an abundance of small keys lying about it, especially at the north end. It is pretty well inhabited with Indians, most of them, if not all, under the Spaniards, who are now masters of it. The natives live together in towns and have priests among them to instruct them in the Spanish religion.

Manila, the chief city, lies at the foot of a ridge of high hills, facing upon a spacious harbour near the south-west point of the island. It is environed with a high strong wall, and very well fortified with forts and breast-works.

The harbour is so large that some hundreds of ships may ride here. The Chinese are the chief merchants, and they do the greatest trade ; for they usually have thirty or forty junks in the harbour at a time, and a great many merchants constantly residing in the city, besides shop-keepers and craftsmen in abundance.

The time of year being too far spent to do anything here, we decided to sail to Pulo Condore, a little group of islands on the coast of Cambodia, which we sighted on the 13th of March.

These islands lie very conveniently in the way to and from Japan, China, and in general all the east coast of the Indian continent. Any ship in distress may be refreshed and recruited here, and be furnished with masts, yards, pitch, and tar. The inhabitants are by nation Cochinchinese, as they told us, for one of them spoke good Malayan, a language some of us learned to speak pretty well at Mindanao ; for this is the common tongue of trade and commerce in most of the East India islands, being the *lingua franca*, as it were, of these parts. They are small in stature, very civil, but extraordinarily poor. Their chief employment is to draw the juice of a sort of tree, to make tar, which they preserve in wooden troughs to transport to Cochinchina, their mother country. They are idolaters, but their manner of worship I know not. The images of the horse and elephant were the idols I most often observed, but there were others of beasts, birds, and fish.

We sailed from Pulo Condore on April 21, 1687, and on the 23rd arrived at Pulo Obi, or the Island of Obi, at the entrance to the Bay of Siam, near the point of Cambodia. Here we found two small barks laden with rice, which is

the general food of all these countries. After cruising in the bay we returned on May 21 to Pulo Condore, where we stayed ten or eleven days, for it blew hard all the time. During this time Herman Coppinger, our surgeon, went ashore, intending to live here ; but Captain Reed sent some men to fetch him again. I had the same thoughts, and would have gone ashore too, but waited for a more convenient place. For neither he nor I, when we were last on board at Mindanao, had any knowledge of the plot that was laid to leave Captain Swan, and run away with the ship ; and being sufficiently weary of this mad crew, we were willing to give them the slip at any place from whence we might hope to get a passage to an English factory.

CHAPTER XVI

OFF THE COAST OF CHINA

HAVING got our ship into sailing order; we took the first opportunity of a settled wind to sail towards Manila. Accordingly on June 4, 1687, we loosed from Pulo Condore, with the wind at south-west. But it continued in this direction little more than twenty-four hours, and finally came at east, lasting between E. and S.E. for eight or ten days. Yet we continued plying to windward, expecting every day a change, because these winds were not according to the season of the year.

However, the easterly winds continuing, we despaired of getting to Manila; and therefore resolved to visit the Island Plata, about the latitude of $20^{\circ} 40'$ N., and not far from us at this time.

It is a small low island entirely surrounded by rocks, according to report, and lies so directly in the way between Manila and Canton (the head of a province, and a town of great trade in China) that the Chinese dread the rocks about it more than the Spaniards formerly dreaded Bermudas. For many of their junks coming from Manila have been lost there, with abundance of treasure in them. But the danger of the place did not daunt us, though we were at last forced to abandon the design for want of winds; for the S.E. winds continuing forced us on the coast of China.

It was on the 25th day of June when we made the land; and running in towards the shore we came to an anchor the same day on the N.E. end of St John's Island, off the south coast of the province of Canton.

The natives of this island are Chinese. . They are subject to the Crown of China, and consequently at this time to the Tartars. The Chinese in general are tall, thin, raw-boned men. They are long-faced, and their foreheads are high, but they have little eyes. Their noses are pretty large, with a rising in the middle ; their mouths of a mean size with rather thin lips. They are of an ashy complexion, their hair is black, and their beards thin and long, for they pluck the hair out by the roots, suffering only a few very long straggling hairs to grow about their chin. In these they take great pride, often combing them and sometimes tying them up in a knot. They have similar hairs, too, growing down from each side of their upper lip like whiskers. The ancient Chinese were very proud of the hair of their heads, letting it grow very long, and stroking it back with their hands curiously, and then winding all the plaits together round a bodkin thrust through it at the hinder part of the head. Both men and women wore it thus. But when the Tartars conquered them they broke them of this custom by main force, so that to this day the Chinese follow the fashion of their masters the Tartars, and shave all their heads with the exception of one lock, which some tie up, while others let it hang down to a great or small length as they please. If a Chinaman is found wearing long hair in China he forfeits his head, and many of them have abandoned their country to preserve the liberty of wearing their hair as they like, as I have been told by themselves.

The Chinese have no hats, caps, or turbans ; but when they walk abroad they carry a small umbrella in their hands, to defend their head from the sun or the rain. If they walk but a little way, they carry only a large fan made of paper or silk, of the same fashion as those our ladies have.

The women have very small feet, and consequently but

little shoes ; for from their infancy their feet are kept swathed up with bands, as hard as they can possibly endure them ; and from the time they can walk till they have done growing they bind them up every night. This they do purposely to hinder them from growing, esteeming little feet to be a great beauty. But by this unreasonable custom they to some extent lose the use of their feet, and instead of walking only stumble about their houses, being confined, as it were, to sitting all the days of their lives. They seldom stir abroad, but are kept constantly to their work, being fine needle-women, and making many curious embroideries.

The Chinese, both men and women, are very ingenious, as may appear by the many curious things that are brought from thence, especially the porcelain, or China earthenware. The Portuguese said that it was made of a fine sort of clay dug in the province of Canton. But while I was on that coast I forgot to enquire about it. They make very fine lacquer ware also, and good silks ; and are curious at painting and carving.

China affords drugs in abundance, besides sugar and tea, which is much used there. Women sit in the streets and sell dishes of tea hot and ready made ; they call it *chau*, and even the poorest people sip it.

The Chinese are very great gamblers, playing night and day till they have lost all their estates, when it is usual with them to hang themselves. This was frequently done by the Chinese factors at Manila, as I was told by the Spaniards that lived there. The Spaniards themselves are much addicted to gaming, and are very expert at it ; but the Chinese are too subtle for them, being in general a very cunning people.

But a particular account of them and their country would fill a volume.

While we lay at this place, we saw several small China

junks sailing in the lagoon between the islands and the mainland. One came and anchored by us, so I and some more of our men went aboard to view her. She was built with a square flat head as well as stern, only the head or fore-part was not so broad as the stern. On her deck she had little thatched houses like hovels, covered with palmeto leaves and raised about three feet high, for the seamen to creep into. She had a pretty large cabin, wherein there was an altar and a lamp burning. I only just looked in, and did not see the idol. The hold was divided in many small partitions, all of them made so tight that if a leak should spring in any one of them it could go no farther, and so could do but little damage. Each of these rooms belongs to one or two merchants, or more ; and every man freights his goods in his own room, and probably lodges there, if he be on board himself. These junks have only two masts, a mainmast and a foremast. The foremast has a square yard and a square sail, but the mainmast has a sail narrow aloft, like a sloop's sail. In fair weather they use a topsail, which is hauled down on the deck in foul weather, yard and all ; for they do not go up to furl it. The mainmast in their biggest junks seem to me as big as any third-rate man-of-war's mast in England, and yet not pieced as ours, but made of one grown tree ; and in all my travels I never saw any single tree-masts so big in the body, and so long, and yet so well tapered, as I have seen in the Chinese junks.

Some of our men went over to a pretty large town on the continent of China, where we might have furnished ourselves with provision ; but we were afraid to lie in this place any longer, for we had some signs of an approaching storm ; and here was no safe riding. Accordingly we weighed anchor. The following day, which was the 4th of July, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the wind freshened and the sky looked very black. By midnight it

blew exceedingly hard, and the rain poured down as through a sieve. It thundered and lightened prodigiously, and the sea seemed all on fire around us ; for every sea that broke sparkled like lightning. The violent wind raised the sea presently to a great height, and it began to break in on our deck. One wave struck away the rails of our head, and our sheet-anchor was violently washed off, and had like to have struck a hole in our bow, as it lay beating against it. Then we were forced to put right before the wind to stow our anchor again, but afterwards we durst not venture to bring our ship to the wind again for fear of foundering. The fierceness of the weather continued till four o'clock in the morning, after which the thunder and rain abated.

I was never in such a violent storm in all my life ; so said all the company, who thought of going somewhere to shelter before the full moon for fear of another such storm at that time. For as a rule, if there is any bad weather in the month, it is about two or three days before or after the full, or change of the moon.

These thoughts, I say, put our men on thinking where to go, and it was decided to sail to certain islands lying in latitude 23° N. called Piscadores. We had first sight of them on July 20, and steered in among them finding no place to anchor till we came to the harbour between the two easternmost islands. This has a large town and fort commanding it. The town is a garrison of the Tartars, wherein are three or four hundred soldiers, who live here three years and are then moved to some other place. We blundered in, knowing little of our way, and were struck with admiration to see so many junks going and coming ; for we did not expect nor desire to see any people, being anxious to lie concealed in these seas. However, seeing we were here, we boldly ran into the harbour, and presently sent ashore a canoa to the town.

Our people were met by an officer at their landing, and our quartermaster was conducted to the governor and asked of what nation we were and what was our business here. He answered that we were English, and were bound to Amoy, and having received some damage by a storm, put in here to refit before we could venture to go farther. The governor told him that we might better refit our ship at Amoy than here, that he should be very ready to assist us in anything, but we must not expect to trade here, but must go to the places allowed to entertain merchant-strangers, viz. Amoy and Macao. However, we should have whatever we wanted, if that place could furnish us, provided we did not go ashore. After the discourse was ended, the governor dismissed him with a present to the captain.

The next day an eminent officer came aboard, with a great many attendants. He wore a black silk cap of a particular make, with a plume of black and white feathers, standing up almost round the back of his head. All his outer clothes were black silk: he had a loose black coat reaching to his knees, and his breeches were of the same. Underneath his coat he had two more garments of other coloured silk. His legs were covered with small black limber boots. All his attendants were in a very handsome garb of black silk, small black boots and caps without brims.

The officer brought aboard as a present from the governor a young heifer, two large hogs, four goats, two baskets of fine flour, twenty cakes of fine bread, two great jars of arrack, and fifty-five jars of *hoc shu*, a strong liquor made, I have been told, from wheat.

Captain Reed sent ashore as a present to the governor a curious Spanish silver-hilted rapier, an English carbine, and a gold chain, and when the officer went ashore three guns were fired.

We stayed here till the twenty-ninth day and then directed our course for some islands that lie between Formosa and Luconia. They are laid down in our charts without any name, only with a figure of 5, denoting the number of them. It was supposed by us that these islands had no inhabitants, because they had no name given them by our hydrographers. Therefore we thought to lie there secure, and be pretty near the Island of Luconia, which we still intended to visit.

In going to them we sailed by Formosa, a large island formerly inhabited by the Chinese and frequently visited by English merchants, there being a very good harbour to secure their ships. But since the Tartars have conquered China they have spoiled the harbour (as I have been informed) to prevent the Chinese—then in rebellion—from fortifying themselves there; and ordered the foreign merchants to come and trade on the main.

We arrived at the five islands on the 5th of August, and anchored on the east side of the northernmost, where, contrary to our expectation, we found abundance of inhabitants in sight, for there were three large towns all within a league of the sea. These islands having no particular names in the drafts, some or other of us made use of the seamen's privilege to give them what names we pleased. Three of them were pretty large, the westernmost being the biggest. This the Dutchmen among us called the Prince of Orange's Island, in honour of his present Majesty. Of the two others I called the northernmost the Duke of Grafton's Isle as soon as we landed on it, while our seamen called the second the Duke of Monmouth's Island. Between this last and the south end of Orange Island there are two small islands of a roundish form, lying east and west. The former our men unanimously called Bashee Island, from a liquor which we drank there plentifully every day. The other, which is the

smallest of all, we named Goat Island, from the great number of goats there.

Monmouth and Grafton Islands are very thickly inhabited, and Bashee Island has one town on it. The natives are short, squat people with skins of a very dark copper colour. Both men and women wear large ear-rings made of yellow metal. Whether it was gold or not I cannot positively say ; I took it to be so, for it was heavy and of the colour of our paler gold. I would fain have brought away some to have satisfied my curiosity ; but I had nothing with which to buy any. Captain Reed bought two of these rings with some iron, of which the people are very greedy, and would have bought more, but the paleness of the metal made him and his crew distrust its being real gold. For my part, I should have ventured on the purchase of some, but having no property in the iron, of which we had a great store on board, sent from England by the merchants along with Captain Swan, I durst not barter it away.

These people make but small low houses. The sides, which are made of small posts wattled with boughs, are not above four and a half feet high, the ridge pole being about seven or eight feet high. They have a fireplace at one end of their houses, and boards placed on the ground to lie on. They live together in small villages built on the sides and tops of rocky hills, three or four houses one above another, and on such steep precipices that they go up to the first row with a wooden ladder, and then with other ladders from each story to the next above it, there being no other way to ascend. The plain on the first precipice may be wide enough to have room both for a row of houses that stand along its edge and a very narrow street running along between their doors and the foot of the next precipice. The common ladder to each row or street comes up at a narrow passage left purposely about the middle of it ;

and the street being bounded by a precipice also at each end, they have only to draw up the ladder in case of assault, and then there is no coming at them from below but by climbing up a perpendicular wall. And so that they may not be assaulted from above, they take care to build on the side of such a hill as backs on to the sea or is so steep as to be inaccessible. Grafton and Monmouth Isles are very thick set with these hills and towns; and the natives, whether for fear of pirates, or foreign enemies, or factions among their own class, do not care to build except in these fastnesses. I never saw such precipices and towns anywhere else.

The usual employment of the men is fishing, and they are pretty ingenious in building boats. They understand the use of iron, and work it themselves. The women manage the plantations.

The natives had a dish made of a sort of locusts, whose bodies were about an inch and a half long, with large thin wings and long thin legs. At this time of the year these creatures came in great swarms to devour potato leaves and other herbs, and were taken with nets, a quart at one sweep. When parched over the fire in an earthen pan their wings and legs would fall off, and their heads and backs would turn red like boiled shrimps. I ate once of this dish and liked it well enough.

Their usual drink is water, but they also make a sort of drink with the juice of the sugar cane which they boil, and put some small black berries among it. When it is well boiled, they pour it into great jars and let it stand three or four days and work. Then it settles and becomes clear, and is presently fit to drink. This is an excellent liquor, very much like English beer, both in colour and taste. It is very strong, and I believe very wholesome; for our men who drank copiously of it all day for several weeks were frequently drunk with it and never ill afterwards.

The natives brought a great deal of it every day to those aboard and ashore (for some of our men were ashore at work on Bashee Island, which they named after this liquor they drank there). And indeed, from the plenty of this liquor, and their frequent use of it, our men called all these islands the Bashee Islands.

We presently built a tent ashore (on Bashee Island) to mend our sails in, and stayed all the rest of our time here, viz. from the 13th of August to the 26th of September. Every day some of us went to the towns and were kindly entertained. In October we expected the winds to shift from S.W. to N.E. and therefore arranged to sail (as soon as the eastern monsoon was settled) to cruise off Manila. But at midnight on September 25 it blew a very fierce storm, and we were driven out to sea, being unable to return till the 1st of October. This last storm put our men quite out of heart; for although it was not so fierce as that which we were in on the coast of China, yet it affected them more powerfully, and frightened them from their design of cruising before Manila. Now every man wished himself at home; but Captain Reed persuaded them to go towards Cape Comorin, intending doubtless to cruise in the Red Sea.

The eastern monsoon was now at hand, and the best way to go would have been through the Straits of Malacca; but Captain Teat said it was dangerous on account of the many islands and shoals there, with which none of us were acquainted. Therefore he thought it best to go round on the east side of the Philippines, and so keeping south towards the Spice Islands, to pass out into the East Indian Ocean near Timor.

This seemed a very tedious way round, and quite as dangerous for shoals, though not for meeting with English and Dutch ships, which was their greatest fear. I was well enough satisfied, knowing that the farther we went the

more knowledge and experience I should get, which was the main thing that I regarded. Moreover, I should also have a greater variety of places from which to attempt an escape, being fully resolved to take the first opportunity of giving them the slip.

CHAPTER XVII

VOYAGE TO NEW HOLLAND

WE sailed on the 3rd of October, and arrived again at Mindanao on the 16th. There we anchored between two small islands and found a fine small cove to careen in. While we lay here a young prince came aboard, who understanding that we were bound farther south desired us to transport him and his men to his own island. He told us that six days before this he saw Captain Swan and several of his men, and that they were now at the city of Mindanao. They had been out with Raja Laut, fighting under him with great courage in his wars against his enemies the Alfoores. Captain Swan now intended to go to Fort St George and had offered forty ounces of gold for a ship ; but the owner and he were not yet agreed and the prince said he feared the Sultan would not let him go away till the wars were ended.

All this the prince told us in the Malayan tongue, which many of us had learnt ; and when he went away he promised to return in three days' time, Captain Reed consenting to stay for him.

After this I tried to persuade our men to return with the ship to the River of Mindanao and offer their service again to Captain Swan. But one of them told Captains Reed and Teat of the project, and they presently dissuaded the men from any such designs. Yet fearing the worst they made all possible haste to be gone, and the very day that the prince had promised to return to us, we sailed hence. (I have since been informed that Captain Swan and his men

stayed at Mindanao a great while and that many of his men got passages from thence in Dutch sloops to Ternate. At last the captain and his surgeon going in a small canoa to a Dutch ship then in the Road in order to get a passage to Europe, were overset by the natives at the mouth of the river, and both killed in the water. This was done by the general's order, as some think, to get his gold, which he immediately seized.)

We came to the N.E. end of the Island of Celebes on November 9, 1687, and anchored on the east side of the island Bouton on the 5th of December. About ten o'clock next morning the Sultan came aboard in a very neat proe. There was a large white silk flag at the head of the mast, edged round with a deep red, and in the middle there was neatly drawn, a green griffin trampling on a winged serpent. Captain Reed met him at the side, and fired five guns for his welcome. As soon as he came aboard he gave leave to his subjects to traffic with us; and then our people bought what they desired. The Sultan seemed very pleased to be visited by the English, having heard extraordinary characters of their just and honourable dealing. But he exclaimed against the Dutch, and wished them at a greater distance.

We stayed here only till the 12th, because it was a bad harbour and foul ground, and a bad time of the year too, for the tornadoes began to come in thick and strong. We met with various shoals and narrowly escaped being driven ashore till on the 27th, being now clear of all the islands, we stood off south, intending to touch at New Holland, a part of Terra Australis Incognita, to see what that country would afford us.

The 4th day of January, 1688, we fell in with the land of New Holland in the latitude of $16^{\circ} 50'$, having, as I said before, made our course due south from the shoal that we

passed by on December 31. We ran in close by it, and finding no convenient anchoring ran along shore to the eastward. We steered thus about twelve leagues, and then came to a point of land, about a league to the east of which we anchored on January 5th.

New Holland is a very large tract of land. It is not yet determined whether it is an island or a main continent ; but I am certain that it joins neither to Asia, Africa, nor America. This part of it that we saw is all low even land, with sandy banks against the sea. Only the points are rocky, and so are some of the islands in this bay.

The land is of a dry sandy soil, destitute of water, unless you make wells. Yet it produces various sorts of trees, though the woods are not thick nor the trees very big. Most of those we saw we supposed to be dragon-trees, out of which a gum distils, called dragon's blood. There was pretty long grass growing under them, but it was very thin. We saw no trees bearing fruit or berries.

We saw no sort of animal, nor any track of beast, but once ; and that seemed to be the tread of a beast as big as a great mastiff dog. There are a few small land-birds, but none bigger than a blackbird ; and only a few sea-fowls. Neither is the sea very plentifully stored with fish unless you reckon the manatee and turtle as such. Of these creatures there are plenty, but they are extraordinarily shy ; though the inhabitants cannot trouble them much, having neither boats nor iron.

The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these ; who have no houses, skin garments, sheep, poultry, ostrich eggs, and fruits of the earth as the Hodmadods have. And setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes. They are tall and thin, with long limbs, and have large heads, round foreheads and great

brows. Their eyelids are always half closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes ; such insects being so troublesome here that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's face ; and without the assistance of both hands to keep them off, they will creep into one's nostrils, and mouth too, if the lips are not shut very close. So, being thus annoyed from their infancy by these insects, they never open their eyes like other people, and therefore they cannot see far unless they hold up their heads as if they were looking at something over them.

They have great bottle noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths. The two front teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young ; but whether they draw them out, I know not. Neither have they any beards. They are long visaged, and of a very unpleasing aspect, having not one graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, short, and curled like that of the negroes, not long and lank like the common Indians. The colour of their skins, both of their faces and the rest of their bodies, is coal black, like that of the negroes of Guinea. Instead of clothes they have a piece of the rind of a tree tied like a girdle about their waists.

They have no houses, but lie in the open air without any covering, the earth being their bed and the heaven their canopy. They live in companies—twenty or thirty men, women, and children together. Their only food is a small sort of fish, which they get by making weirs of stone across little coves or branches of the sea. Every tide brings them in and leaves them as a prey to these people, who constantly search for them at low water. They have no instruments to catch large fish, should they come, nor could we catch any with hooks and lines all the while we stayed there. In other places at low water they seek for cockles, mussels, and periwinkles, of which there are fewer still, so that their chief dependence is on what the sea leaves in

their weirs. At their places of abode the old people and infants await their return ; and what providence has bestowed on them they presently broil on the coals and eat it in common. Whether it be much or little, every one has his share. When they have eaten they lie down till the next low water, and then all that are able march out. Be it night or day, rain or shine, 'tis all one ; they must attend the weirs or else they must fast, for the earth affords them no food at all. There is neither herb, root, pulse, nor any sort of grain for them to eat, that we saw, nor any bird or beast that they can catch, having no instruments wherewith to do so.

These poor creatures have a sort of weapon to defend their weir, or fight against their enemies, if they have any that will interfere with their poor fishery. They tried at first to frighten us with their weapons, because by lying ashore we deterred them from one of their fishing-grounds. Some of them had wooden swords, others a sort of lance. The sword is a piece of wood shaped somewhat like a cutlass. The lance is a long straight pole sharp at one end, and hardened afterwards by heat. I saw no iron, nor any other sort of metal ; therefore it is probable they use stone hatchets, as do some Indians in America, described in Chapter V.

How they get their fire I know not ; but probably as the Indians do, out of wood. I have seen the Indians of Bon-Airy do it, and have myself tried the experiment. They take a flat piece of wood that is pretty soft, and make a small dent in one side of it. Then they take another hard round stick, about the thickness of one's little finger, and sharpening it at one end like a pencil, they put the sharp end in the hole or dent, and then rubbing or twisting the hard piece between the palms of their hands they drill the soft piece till it smokes, and at last takes fire.

These people speak somewhat through the throat ; but

we could not understand one word that they said. We anchored, as I said before, on January 5, and seeing men walking on the shore, we presently sent a canoa to get some acquaintance with them, for we hoped to obtain some provision among them. But the inhabitants, seeing our boat coming, ran away and hid themselves. We searched afterwards for three days in the hope of finding their houses, but found none, though we saw many places where they had made fires. At last we gave up the search, but left a great many toys ashore in the places where we thought they would come. During all this time we found no water, but old wells on the sandy bays.

At last we went over to the islands, and there we found a great many of the natives. The men at our first coming ashore threatened us with their lances and swords, but they were frightened by the report of one gun which we fired purposely to scare them. The island on which we landed was so small that they could not hide themselves, but they were greatly perturbed by our appearance, especially the women and children, for we went directly to their camp. The lustiest of the women snatching up their infants ran away howling, and the little children ran after them squeaking and bawling; but the men stood still. Some of the women and such others as could not escape lay still by the fire making a doleful noise, as if we had been coming to devour them; but when they saw we did not intend to harm them they were pretty quiet, and the rest that fled from us at our first coming returned. This their place of dwelling was only a fire with a few boughs before it on the side from which the wind was blowing.

After we had been here a little while the men began to be familiar, and we clothed some of them, designing to have some service in return, for we found wells of water near and intended to carry two or three barrels of it aboard. We thought to have made these men carry it for us, and

therefore gave them some old clothes. But all the signs we could make were to no purpose, for they stood like statues, grinning like so many monkeys and staring at one another. These poor creatures seem unaccustomed to carry burdens, and I believe that one of our ship-boys of ten years old would carry as much as one of them. So we were forced to do the work ourselves, and they very fairly took the clothes off again and laid them down, as if clothes were only to work in. I did not perceive that they took any great liking to them at first, neither did they seem to admire anything that we had.

At another time our canoa being among these islands seeking for game espied a drove of these men swimming from one island to another ; for they have no boats, canoas, or bark-logs. They took four of them and brought them aboard. To these we gave boiled rice, and with it turtle and manatee boiled. They greedily devoured what was given them, but took no notice of the ship, or anything in it, and when they were set on land again they ran away as fast as they could.

When we had been here about a week, we hauled our ship into a small sandy cove, at a spring-tide, as far as she would float ; and at low water she was left dry. All the neap-tides we lay wholly aground, for the sea did not come near us by a hundred yards. We had therefore time enough to clean our ship's bottom, which we did very well. Most of our men lay ashore in a tent, where our sails were being mended ; and our strikers brought home every day turtle and manatee, which was our constant food.

While we lay here I endeavoured to persuade our men to go to some English factory ; but was threatened with being turned ashore and left there. This made me desist, and patiently wait for some more convenient place and opportunity to leave them, which I hoped to accomplish in a short time because they intended when they went from

here to bear down towards Cape Comorin. On their way thither they designed also to visit the Island of Cocos,¹ hoping to find there that fruit, from which the island derives its name.

¹ Keeling Island.

CHAPTER XVIII

I GAIN MY LIBERTY AT NICOBAR

ON March 12, 1688, we sailed from New Holland, intending, as I said, to touch at Cocos; but we met with winds which obliged us to keep a more easterly course than was convenient to find that island. We therefore chose rather to bear away to some islands on the west side of Sumatra. I was very glad of this, being in hopes to make my escape from them to Sumatra or to some other place.

We met nothing remarkable in this voyage beside the catching of two great sharks till the twenty-eighth day. Then we fell in with a small woody island, in latitude $10^{\circ} 30'$. We sent two canoas ashore; one of them with the carpenter to cut a tree to make another pump, the other to search for fresh water. The latter brought aboard as many birds as sufficed all the ship's company. They also got a kind of land animal somewhat resembling a large crawfish, without its great claws. These creatures lived in holes in the dry sandy ground, like rabbits. Sir Francis Drake in his voyage round the world makes mention of such that he found at Ternate, or some other of the Spice Islands. They were very good sweet meat, and so large that two of them were more than a man could eat, being almost as thick as one's leg. Their shells were of a dark brown, but red when boiled.

We sailed from this island about one o'clock in the afternoon and met nothing worthy of remark till the 7th of April, when being in latitude 7° S. we saw the land of

Sumatra at a great distance, bearing north. The tenth day at about seven or eight leagues on the west of the island (Sumatra) we saw abundance of coco-nuts swimming in the sea, so we hoisted out our boat and took some of them. The nuts were very sound, and in some of them the milk was still sweet and good.

The twelfth day we came to a small island called Triste, about fourteen or fifteen leagues to the west of Sumatra. We sent ashore for coco-nuts, and our strikers went out and struck some fish, which was boiled for supper. They also killed two young alligators, which we salted for the next day.

I had no opportunity at this place to make my escape as I would have done if I could have kept a boat with me. But there was no compassing this; and so on the 15th we went from hence, steering to the northward on the west side of Sumatra. Our food now was rice, and the meat of the coco-nuts rasped and steeped in water, which made a sort of milk into which we put our rice, making a pleasant mess enough. After we parted from Triste we saw other small islands also full of coco-nut trees.

The twenty-fifth day we crossed the equator, still coasting to the northward, between Sumatra and a range of small islands lying fourteen or fifteen leagues off.

On the 29th we saw a sail to the north of us, which we chased and brought aboard: She was a proe with four men in her, belonging to Achin,¹ whither she was bound. She came from one of the coco-nut islands that we passed by, and was laden with coco-nuts and coco-nut oil. Captain Reed ordered his men to take aboard all the nuts, and as much of the oil as he thought convenient, and then cut a hole in the bottom of the proe, and turned her loose, keeping the men prisoners.

It was not for the lucre of the cargo that Captain Reed

¹ A town in the north-west part of Sumatra.

took this boat, but to hinder me and some others from going ashore ; for he knew that we were ready to make our escape if an opportunity presented itself ; and he thought that by his abusing and robbing the natives we should be afraid to trust ourselves among them. But this proceeding of his turned to our advantage, as shall be declared hereafter.

On May 1 we ran down by the north-west end of the Island Sumatra. The prisoners taken the day before showed us the islands that lie off Achin harbour, and the channels through which ships go in, and told us also that there was an English factory at Achin. I wished myself there, but was forced to wait with patience till my time was come.

The fourth day in the evening, we had sight of one of the Nicobar Islands. The southermost of them lies about forty leagues N.N.W. from the north-west end of the Island Sumatra. This is Nicobar itself, but all the cluster lying south of the Andeman Islands are called by our seamen the Nicobar Islands.

The inhabitants of these islands have no certain converse with any nation ; but as ships pass by them, they will come aboard in their proes and offer their commodities for sale, never enquiring what nation the sailors are, for all white people are alike to them. Their chief commodities are ambergris and fruits.

The 5th day of May we ran down on the west side of the Island Nicobar, properly so called, and anchored at the north-west end of it in a small bay, not half a mile from the shore. Captain Reed immediately ordered his men to heel the ship in order to clean her : which was done this day and the next. All the water vessels were filled, and they intended to go to sea at night ; for the winds being yet at N.N.E. the captain hoped to get over to Cape Comorin before the wind shifted. Otherwise it would

have been somewhat difficult for him to get thither, because the westerly monsoon was now at hand.

I thought now was my time to make my escape, by getting leave if possible to stay here. It seemed not very feasible to do it by stealth, and I had no reason to despair of getting leave, this being a place where my stay could probably do our crew no harm should I design it. Indeed one reason that gave me the idea of staying at this particular place, besides the present opportunity of leaving Captain Reed, which I always intended to do, as soon as I could, was that I also had here a prospect of advancing a profitable trade for ambergris with these people, and of gaining a considerable fortune to myself. For in a short time I might have learned their language, and by accustoming myself to row with them in the proes or canoas, especially conforming myself to their customs and manners of living, I should have seen how they got their ambergris, and have known what quantities they got, and the time of year when most is found. And then afterwards I thought it would be easy for me to transport myself from thence, either in some ship that passed this way, whether English, Dutch, or Portuguese; or else to get one of the young men of the island to go with me in one of their canoas to Achin, there to furnish myself with such commodities as I found most coveted by them and in return buy their ambergris.

I had till this time made no open show of going ashore here; but now, the water being filled, and the ship in readiness to sail, I desired Captain Reed to set me ashore on this island. He, supposing that I could not go ashore in a place less frequented by ships than this, gave me leave; which probably he would have refused to have done, if he thought I should have got from hence in any short time; for fear of my giving an account of him to the English or Dutch. I soon got up my chest and bedding,

and immediately got some one to row me ashore, for fear lest his mind should change again.

The canoa that brought me ashore landed me on a small sandy bay, where there were two houses but no person in them. For the inhabitants were removed to some other house, probably for fear of us, because the ship was close by, though both men and women had come aboard without any sign of fear. When our ship's canoa was going aboard again, they met the owner of the houses coming ashore in his boat. He made a great many signs to them to fetch me off again ; but they would not understand him. Then he came to me, and offered his boat to carry me off, but I refused it. Then he made signs for me to go up into the house, and according to my understanding of his signs and a few Malayan words he used, he intimated that something would come out of the woods in the night when I was asleep and kill me (meaning probably some wild beast). Then I carried my chest and clothes up into the house.

I had not been ashore an hour before Captain Teat and one John Damarel, with three or four more armed men, came to fetch me aboard again. They need not have sent an armed posse for me ; for had they but sent the cabin boy I would not have refused to go aboard. For though I could have hid myself in the woods, they would have then abused or killed some of the natives purposely to incense them against me. I told them therefore that I was ready to go with them, and went aboard with all my things.

When I came aboard I found the ship in an uproar ; for there were three more men, who, taking courage by my example, desired leave also to accompany me. One of them was the surgeon, Mr Coppinger, another was Mr Robert Hall, and the third was called Ambrose, but I have forgotten his surname. These men had always harboured

the same designs as I had. The two last were not much opposed ; but Captain Reed and his crew would not part with the surgeon. At last the surgeon leapt into the canoa, and taking up my gun, swore he would go ashore, and that if any man opposed it, he would shoot him. But John Oliver, who was then quartermaster, leapt into the canoa, seized him, took away the gun, and with the help of two or three more dragged him again into the ship.

Then Mr Hall and Ambrose and I were again sent ashore, and one of the men that rowed us stole an axe and gave it to us, knowing it was a good commodity with the Indians. It was now dark, so we lighted a candle, and I being the oldest stander in our new country, conducted them into one of the houses, where we presently hung up our hammocks. We had scarcely done this before the canoa came ashore again, and brought the four Malayan men belonging to Achin (whom we took in the proc seized off Sumatra) and the Portuguese that came to our ship out of the Siam junk at Pulo Condore. The crew had now no occasion for these, nor did they fear that the Achinese could be serviceable to us in bringing us over to their country, forty leagues off, for they did not imagine that we durst make such a bold attempt.

We were now sufficient in number to defend ourselves against the natives of this island, if they should prove our enemies, though I did not much care whether I had any company or not. However I was very well satisfied because we were now men enough to row ourselves over to the Island of Sumatra ; and accordingly we presently consulted how to purchase a canoa of the natives.

It was a fine clear moonlight night on which we were left ashore. Therefore we walked on the sandy bay to watch when the ship would weigh and be gone, not thinking ourselves secure in our new-gotten liberty till then. About eleven or twelve o'clock we saw her under sail, and then we

but seeing us row away, got into their canoa again and came after us.

The firing of that gun made all the inhabitants of the island to be our enemies. They opposed us wherever we came, and often shaking their lances at us, made all the show of hatred that they could invent. At last we resolved to use force to get some of their food if we could not get it otherwise. With this resolution we went in our canoa into a small bay on the north part of the island where there was smooth water and good landing.

When we set out we were followed by seven or eight of their canoas. They, keeping at a distance, rowed faster than we did, and got to the bay before us ; and there, with about two hundred more canoas full of men, they all landed and stood to hinder us from landing. But we rowed in, within a hundred yards of them. Then we lay still, and I took my gun and presented at them ; at which they all fell flat on the ground. But I turned myself about, and to show that we did not intend to harm them, I fired my gun off to sea, so that they might see the shot graze the water. As soon as my gun was loaded again, we rowed gently in ; at which some of them withdrew. The rest standing up, still cut and hewed the air, making signs of their hatred ; till I once more frightened them with my gun, and discharged it as before. Then more of them sneaked away, leaving only five or six men on the bay. Then we rowed in again, and Mr Hall taking his sword in his hand, leapt ashore ; and I stood ready with my gun to fire at the Indians if they injured him. But they did not stir till he came to them and saluted them.

He shook them by the hand, and by such signs of friendship as he made the peace was concluded, ratified, and confirmed by all that were present. The others that were gone were called back again, and they all very joyfully accepted of a peace. This became universal over all the

returned to our chamber, and so to sleep. This was the 6th of May.

Early next morning our landlord with four or five of his friends came to see his new guests, and was somewhat surprised to see so many of us, for he knew of no more but myself. Yet he seemed to be very well pleased, and entertained us with a large calabash of toddy, which he brought with him. Before he went away again we bought a canoa of him for an axe, and presently put our chests and clothes in it, designing to go to the south end of the island and lie there till the monsoon shifted, which we expected every day.

When our things were stowed away, we joyfully entered with the Achinese into our new frigate, and launched off from the shore. We were no sooner off, but our canoa upset, bottom upwards. We preserved our lives well enough by swimming, and also dragged our chests and clothes ashore ; but all our things were wet. I had nothing of value but my journal and some drafts of land of my own taking, which I much prized and which I had hitherto carefully preserved. Mr Hall had also such another cargo of books and drafts, which were now likely to perish. But we presently opened our chests and took out our books which with much ado we afterwards dried ; though some of the loose drafts were spoiled.

We lay here afterwards three days, making great fires to dry our books. The Achinese in the meantime fixed our canoa with outriggers on each side, and also cut a good mast for her and made a substantial sail with mats. We then launched out the second time, and rowed towards the east side of the island, leaving many islands to the north of us. The Indians accompanied us with eight or ten canoas against our desire ; therefore to hinder them from going with us Mr Hall scared one canoa's crew by firing a shot over them. They all leapt overboard, and cried out,

but seeing us row away, got into their canoa again and came after us.

The firing of that gun made all the inhabitants of the island to be our enemies. They opposed us wherever we came, and often shaking their lances at us, made all the show of hatred that they could invent. At last we resolved to use force to get some of their food if we could not get it otherwise. With this resolution we went in our canoa into a small bay on the north part of the island where there was smooth water and good landing.

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island, to the great joy of the inhabitants. There was no ringing of bells nor bonfires made, for that is not the custom here ; but gladness appeared in their countenances, for now they could go out and fish again without fear of being taken. This peace was not more welcome to them than to us ; for now the inhabitants brought us their melory¹ again, which we bought for old rags, and small strips of cloth about as broad as the palms of one's hand. I did not see above five or six hens, for they have but few on the island. At some places we saw some small hogs, which we would have bought of them reasonably ; but we would not offend our Achinese friends, who were Mahometans.

We stayed here two or three days, and then rowed towards the south end of the island, keeping on the east side, and were kindly received by the natives wherever we came. When we arrived we bought three or four loaves of melory and about twelve large coco-nut shells that had all the kernel taken out, yet were preserved whole, except for a small hole at one end, and held for us about three gallons and a half of water. We bought also two or three bamboos that held about five gallons more. This was our sea store.

We now designed to go to Achin, a town on the north-west end of the Island of Sumatra, about forty leagues S.S.E. and only waited for the western monsoon which we had expected a great while, and which now seemed to be at hand.

¹ A kind of bread-fruit.

CHAPTER XIX

A PERILOUS VOYAGE

IT was the 15th day of May, 1688, about four o'clock in the afternoon, when we left Nicobar Island, directing our course towards Achin. There were eight men of us in company, viz. three English, four Malaysans, who were born at Achin, and the mongrel Portuguese.

Our vessel, the Nicobar canoa, was not one of the biggest nor of the least size. She was much about the burthen of one of our London wherries below bridge, and built sharp at both ends, like the fore part of a wherry. She was deeper than a wherry, but not so broad, and was so thin and light, that four men could launch her when empty, or haul her ashore on a sandy bay. We had a good substantial mast, and a mat sail, and good outriggers lashed very fast and firm on each side the vessel, being made of strong poles. So that while these continued firm the vessel could not overset, which she would easily have done without them, and with them too had they not been made very strong. We were therefore much beholden to our Achinese companions for this contrivance.

These men were none of them so sensible of the danger as Mr Hall and myself, for they all confided so much in us, that they did not scruple to do anything we approved of. Neither was Mr Hall so well provided as I was, for before we left the ship I had purposely consulted our draft of the East Indies (for we had but one in the ship) and out of that I had written in my pocket-book an account of the bearing and the distance of all the Malacca coast, and that

of Sumatra, Pegu, and Siam. I had also brought away with me a pocket-compass for my direction in any enterprise that I should undertake.

The weather at our setting out was very fair, clear, and hot. We took this opportunity, being in hopes to accomplish our voyage to Achin before the western monsoon was set in strong, knowing that we should have very blustering weather at its first coming.

We rowed therefore away to the southward, supposing that when we were clear from the island we should have a true wind, as we call it ; for we often find the wind at sea different from what it is near the shore. We rowed with four oars taking our turns. Mr Hall and I steered also by turns, for none of the rest were capable of it. We rowed the first afternoon, and the night ensuing, about twelve leagues by my judgment.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the sixteenth day we had a gentle breeze at W.S.W. which continued so till nine, during all which time we laid down our oars and steered away S.S.E. I was then at the helm, and I found by the rippling of the sea that there was a strong current against us. It made a great noise that might be heard nearly half a mile off. At nine o'clock it fell calm, and so continued till ten. Then the wind sprang up again and blew a fresh breeze all night.

The seventeenth day in the morning we looked out for the Island of Sumatra, supposing that we were now within twenty leagues of it ; for we had rowed and sailed, by our reckoning, twenty-four leagues from Nicobar Island ; and the distance from Nicobar to Achin is about forty leagues. But we looked in vain for the Island of Sumatra ; for turning ourselves about we saw to our grief Nicobar Island lying W.N.W. and not above eight leagues distant. By this it was evident that we had met a very strong current against us in the night. But the wind freshened

on us, and we made the best use of it while the weather continued fair. At noon we had an observation of the sun; my latitude was $6^{\circ} 55'$ and Mr Hall's was 7° N.

The eighteenth day the wind freshened on us again, and the sky began to be clouded. It was fairly clear till noon, and we thought to have had an observation; but we were hindered by the clouds that covered the face of the sun, when it came on the meridian.

We had then also a very ill presage, by a great circle about the sun (five or six times its diameter) which seldom appears without storms of wind, or much rain ensuing. Such circles about the moon are more frequent, but of less import. We generally take great notice of those about the sun, observing if there be any breach in the circle, and in what quarter the breach is; for from thence we commonly find the greatest stress of the wind will come. I must confess that I was a little anxious at the sight of this circle, and wished heartily that we were near some land. Yet I showed no sign of it to discourage my companions, but made a virtue of necessity, and put a good countenance on the matter.

I told Mr Hall that if the wind became too strong and violent, as I feared it would, it being even then very strong, we must of necessity steer away before the wind and sea till better weather presented; and that as the winds were now, we should, instead of about twenty leagues to Achin, be driven sixty or seventy leagues to the coast of Cudda or Queda, a kingdom and town and harbour of trade on the coast of Malacca.

The winds therefore bearing very hard, we rolled up the foot of our sail on a pole fastened to it, and settled our yard within three feet of the canoa sides, so that we had now but a small sail. Yet it was still too big, for the wind being on our broad side pressed her down very much, though supported by her outriggers, insomuch that the poles of

the outriggers going from the sides of their vessel bent as if they would break ; and should they have broken, our overturning and perishing had been inevitable. Besides, the sea increasing would soon have filled the vessel this way. Yet we made shift to bear up with the side of the vessel against the wind for a while ; but about one o'clock in the afternoon we put away right before wind and sea, continuing to run thus all the afternoon and part of the night ensuing. The wind continued increasing and the sea still swelled higher, and often broke, but did us no damage ; for the ends of the vessel being very narrow he that steered received and broke the sea on his back, and so kept it from coming in so much as to endanger the vessel. Nevertheless much water came in, which we were forced to keep heaving out. By this time we saw it was well that we had altered our course, else every wave would have filled and sunk us ; and though our outriggers were well lashed down to the canoa's bottom with rattans, yet they must have yielded to such a sea as this, when even before they were plunged under water, and bent like twigs.

The evening of this eighteenth day was very dismal. The sky looked very black, being covered with dark clouds ; the wind blew hard, and the seas ran high. The sea was already roaring in a white foam about us ; a dark night coming on, and no land in sight to shelter us, and our little ark in danger of being swallowed by every wave ; and, what was worst of all, none of us thought ourselves prepared for another world. The reader may better guess than I can express what confusion we were all in. I had been in many eminent dangers before now, some of which I have already related, but the worst of them all was but a play-game in comparison with this. I must confess that I was in great conflicts of mind at this time. Other dangers had not come upon me with such a leisurely and dreadful

solemnity. A sudden skirmish or engagement was nothing when one's blood was up and one was pushed forward with eager expectations. But here I had a lingering view of approaching death, and little or no hopes of escaping it ; and I must confess that my courage, which I had hitherto kept up, failed me here ; and I made very sad reflections on my former life, and looked back with horror and detestation on actions which I had disliked before, but now trembled at the remembrance of. I had long before this repented me of that roving course of life, but never with such concern as now. I also called to mind the many miraculous acts of God's providence towards me in the whole course of my life, of which kind I believe few men have met with the like. For all these I returned thanks in a peculiar manner, and this once more desired God's assistance, composing my mind as well as I could in the hopes of it, and as the event showed, I was not disappointed of my hopes.

Submitting ourselves therefore to God's good providence, and taking all the care we could to preserve our lives, Mr Hall and I took turns to steer, and the rest took turns to heave out the water, and thus we provided to spend the most doleful night I ever was in. About ten o'clock it began to thunder, lighten, and rain ; but the rain was very welcome to us, having drunk up all the water we brought from the island.

The wind at first blew harder than before, but within half an hour it abated, and became more moderate ; and the sea also assuaged of its fury ; and then by a lighted match, of which we kept a piece burning on purpose, we looked on our compass to see how we steered, and found our course to be still east. We had no occasion to look on the compass before, for we steered right before the wind, and if it shifted were obliged to alter our course accordingly. But the wind being now abated, we found our

vessel lively enough with that small sail which was then aboard, to hail to our former course, S.S.E., which accordingly we did, being now in hopes again to get to the Island of Sumatra.

But about two o'clock in the morning of the nineteenth day we had another gust of wind, with much thunder, lightning, and rain, which lasted till day, and obliged us to *put before the wind again, steering thus for several hours.* It was very dark, and the hard rain soaked us so thoroughly that we had not one dry thread about us. The rain chilled us extremely ; for any fresh water is much colder than that of the sea. For even in the coldest climates the sea is warm, and in the hottest climates the rain is cold and unwholesome for man's body. In this wet starveling plight we spent the tedious night. Never did poor mariners on a lee shore more earnestly long for the dawning light than we did now. At length the day appeared ; but with such dark black clouds near the horizon that the first glimpse of the dawn appeared thirty or forty degrees high, which was dreadful enough, for it is a common saying among seamen, and true, as I have experienced, that a high dawn will have high winds, and a low dawn, small winds.

We continued our course, still east, before wind and sea, till about eight o'clock in the morning of this nineteenth day ; and then one of our Malayan friends cried out, " Pulo Way ! " Mr Hall and Ambrose and I thought the fellow had said, " Pull away ! " an expression usual among English seamen when they are rowing. And we wondered what he meant by it, till we saw him point to his companions ; and then looking that way we saw land appearing, like an island. All our Malaysians said it was an island at the north-west end of Sumatra, called Way ; for Pulo Way means the Island Way (Way Island). We, who were dripping with wet, cold, and hungry, were all

overjoyed at the sight of the land, and presently marked its bearing. It bore south, and the wind was still at west, a strong gale ; but the sea did not run so high as in the night. Therefore we trimmed our small sail no bigger than an apron, and steered with it. Now our outriggers did us a great kindness again, for although we had but a small sail, yet the wind was strong, and pressed down our vessel's side very much. But being supported by the outriggers, we could brook it well enough, which otherwise we could not have done.

About noon we saw more land beneath the supposed Pulo Way ; and steering towards it, before night we saw all the coast of Sumatra, and found the errors of our Achinese ; for the high land that we first saw, which then appeared like an island, was not Pulo Way, but a great high mountain on the Island of Sumatra, called by the English the Golden Mountain. Our wind continued till about seven o'clock at night ; then it abated, and at ten o'clock it died away ; and then we stuck to our oars again, though all of us were quite tired with our former fatigues and hardships.

The next morning, being the twentieth day, we saw all the lowland plain, and judged ourselves not above eight leagues off. About eight o'clock in the morning we had the wind again at west, a fresh gale, and steering in still for the shore at five o'clock in the afternoon we ran to the mouth of a river on the Island of Sumatra called Passange Jonca.

Our Malaysans were very well acquainted here, and carried us to a small fishing-village within a mile of the river's mouth, called also by the name of Passange Jonca. The hardships of this voyage, with the scorching heat of the sun at our first setting out, and the cold rain, and our continuing wet for the last two days, cast us all into fevers, so that now we were not able to help each other, nor so

much as to get our canoa up to the village ; but our Malaysans got some of the townsmen to bring her up.

The news of our arrival being noised abroad, one of the Oramkais, or noblemen of the island, came in the night to see us. We were then lying in a small hut at the end of the town, and it being late, this lord only viewed us, and having spoken with our Malaysans, went away again. But he returned to us the next day, and provided a large house for us to live in, till we should have recovered from our sickness, ordering the townspeople to let us want for nothing. The Achinese Malaysans that came with us told them all the circumstances of our voyage ; how they were taken by our ship, and where, and how we that came with them were prisoners aboard the ship, and had been set ashore together at Nicobar, as they were. It was for this reason, probably, that the gentlemen of Sumatra were thus extraordinarily kind to us, in providing everything that we had need of. The Malaysans that accompanied us from Nicobar separated from us now, living at one end of the house by themselves, for they were Mahometans, as all those of the kingdom of Achin are ; and though during our passage by sea together we made them be contented to drink their water out of the same coco-shell with us ; yet being now no longer under that necessity, they again took up their accustomed nicety and reservedness. They all lay sick, and as their sickness increased, one of them threatened us that if any of them died, the rest would kill us for having brought them on this voyage. Yet I question whether they would have attempted, or the country people have suffered it. We made a shift to dress our own food, for none of these people, though they were very kind in giving us anything that we wanted, would yet come near us to assist us in dressing our victuals : nay, they would not touch anything that we used. We all had fevers, and therefore took turns to dress victuals, according as we had

strength to do it, or stomachs to eat it. I found my fever to increase, and my head so distempered that I could scarcely stand; therefore I whetted and sharpened my penknife, in order to let myself blood; but I could not, for my knife was too blunt.

We stayed here ten or twelve days in the hope of recovering our health; but finding no amendment, we desired to go to Achin. However, we were delayed by the natives, who desired to keep Mr Hall and myself to sail in their vessels to Malacca, Cudda, or to other places whither they trade. But finding us more desirous to be with our countrymen in our factory at Achin, they provided a large proe to carry us thither, we not being able to manage our own canoa. Besides, before this, three of our Malayan comrades were gone very sick into the country, and only one of them and the Portuguese remained to accompany us to Achin, and they both as sick as we.

It was the beginning of June, 1688, when we left Passange Jonca. We had four men to row, one to steer, and a gentleman of the country, who went purposely to give information to the government of our arrival. We were but three days and nights in our passage, having sea-breezes by day, and land-winds by night, and very fair weather.

When we arrived at Achin, I was carried before the Shabander, the chief magistrate in the city. One Mr Dennis Driscall, an Irishman and a resident there in the factory which our East Indies Company had there then, was interpreter. I being weak was allowed to stand in the Shabander's presence; for it is their custom to make visitors sit on the floor, as they do, cross-legged like tailors, but I had not strength then to pluck up my heels in that manner. The Shabander asked me several questions, especially how we durst venture to come in a canoa from the Nicobar Islands to Sumatra. I told him that I had

been accustomed to hardships and hazards, therefore I quite freely undertook such a voyage. He enquired also concerning our ship, whence she came, etc. I told him from the South Seas ; that she had ranged about the Philippine Islands, etc., and was now gone towards Arabia and the Red Sea. The Malaysans and the Portuguese were also afterwards examined, and confirmed what I declared, and in less than half an hour I was dismissed with Mr Driscall, who then lived in the English East India Company's factory. He provided a room for us to lie in, and some victuals.

Three days after our arrival here, our Portuguese died of a fever. What became of our Malaysans I know not. Ambrose lived not long after, and Mr Hall also was so weak that I did not think he would recover. I was the best ; but still very sick of a fever, and little likely to live. Therefore Mr Driscall and some other Englishmen persuaded me to take some physic of a Malayan doctor. I took their advice, being willing to get ease ; but finding no amendment after three doses, each a large calabash of nasty stuff, I thought to desist from more physic. However, I was persuaded to take one dose more, which wrought so violently that I thought it would have ended my days, and that my Malayan doctor, whom they so much commended, would have killed me outright. I continued extraordinarily weak for some days after his drenching me thus, but my fever left me for above a week, after which it returned for a twelvemonth, and a flux with it.

However, when I was a little recovered from the effects of my medicine, I made shift to go abroad. My first visit was to Captain Bowrey, who had a ship in the road, but lived ashore. This gentleman was extraordinarily kind to us all, particularly to me, and importuned me to go as his boatswain to Persia, whither he was bound with a design to sell his ship there. From thence he intended to pass

with the caravan to Aleppo, and so home for England. His business required him to stay some time longer at Achin ; I judge, to sell some goods he had not yet disposed of. Yet he chose rather to leave the disposal of them to some merchant there, and in the meantime make a short trip to the Nicobar Islands. He took me, Mr Hall, and Ambrose with him, though all of us were so sick and weak that we could do him no service. It was sometime about the beginning of June when we sailed out of Achin Road, but we met with turbulent weather which forced us back again in two days' time, so he gave over that design.

After this he again invited me to his house at Achin, and treated me always with wine and good cheer, and still importuned me to go with him to Persia. But I being very weak, and fearing the westerly winds would create a great deal of trouble, did not give him a positive answer ; especially as I thought I might get a better voyage in the English ships newly arrived, or some others now expected here.

A short time after this, Captain Weldon arrived here from Fort St George in a ship called the *Curtana* bound to Tonquin. This was a more agreeable voyage than to Persia at this time of the year. The ship was also better accommodated, especially with a surgeon, and as I was still sick, I chose rather to serve Captain Weldon than Captain Bowrey.

CHAPTER XX

A TRADING VOYAGE TO TONQUIN

I SET out thence with him through the Straits of Malacca, and we soon arrived at the town of Malacca. Here our captain, being a stranger to the Bay of Tonquin, as were all his ship's company, hired a Dutch pilot. At the farther end of the Straits of Malacca, among many other islands, we sailed by those of Pulo Oro, and Pulo Timaon, the latter a place often touched at for wood, water, and other refreshments.

Having at length got clear of the islands into the wide ocean we steered away till we came in sight of Pulo Condore; and leaving it on our starboard fell in with the continent near the River of Cambodia. We then coasted along to the eastward, doubled the point of land that bounds the south-west part of the Bay of Tonquin, and kept along by the shore just outside Pulo Canton.

This island lies in about 13° N. It is much frequented by the Cochin-Chinese, whose country begins hereabouts, bordering on the kingdom of Champa. They are mostly fishermen that come hither, and their chief business is to make oil of porpoises; for these fish are found in great plenty here at some seasons of the year. There is also on all this coast a great store of turtle which they catch chiefly in order to make oil of their fat.

We coasted yet farther on this shore till we came to the islands of Champello. They lie four or five leagues from the shore, and are called Champello de la Mar, to dis-

tinguish them from others lying farther down in the Bay of Tonquin, called Champello de Terra.

Over against these last islands, on the main, there is a large navigable river. The City of Quinam stands on its banks, and is said to be the principal city of the kingdom of Cochin-China. I have been informed that if a ship is cast away on this kingdom the seamen that escape drowning and get ashore become slaves to the king. Captain John Tiler was thus served, and despaired of ever getting his freedom, but after a considerable stay there he was taken notice of by the king, and upon promise of returning thither to trade, was sent away. I sailed in a vessel of his after this, but I never found him inclined to trade thither any more.

We kept a little without all the islands, and coasting five or six leagues farther, stood right over towards the north-east coast of the Bay of Tonquin. The mouth of the bay seems to be barred up with the great Shoal of Pracel, which lies stretched at length before it, yet leaves two wide channels, one at each end, so that ships may pass in or out either way. In the bottom of the bay also there are some small islands, close by the Tonquin shore. Two of these are of especial note as sea-marks of the two principal rivers, or mouth rather of the chief river of Tonquin. One of these is called Rokbo. The other was that by which we entered, and it is larger and deeper than the former. I do not know its particular name, but for distinction I shall call it the River of Domea, because the first town of note that I saw on its bank was so called. There are many dangerous sands and shoals between these two rivers, which stretch into the sea two leagues or more.

The river of Domea is that by which most European ships enter, for the sake of its depth ; yet here is a bar of nearly two miles broad, and the channel is about half a mile broad, having sands on each side. The depth of the

river is various at different times and seasons, according to the pilots who are best acquainted here ; there being not above fifteen or sixteen feet of water on a spring-tide, and twenty-six or twenty-seven feet at other times. The channel of the bar is hard sand, which makes it the more dangerous still. Therefore ships that come hither commonly wait for a pilot to direct them. The pilots for this river are fishermen who live at a village called Batsha, so situated that they can see all ships that wait and hear the guns, too, that are often fired as signals by Europeans to give notice of their arrival.

Having run about five or six leagues up the river, we passed by a village called Domea. It is a handsome village, situated on the starboard going up, and so near the river that the tide sometimes washes the walls of the houses (for the tide rises and falls here nine or ten feet). The Dutch ships that trade here always lie in the river before this town, and the Dutch seamen, by their annual returns hither from Batavia, are very intimate with the natives, for the Tonquinese in general are a very sociable people. The Dutch have instructed the natives in the art of gardening, by which means they have abundance of herbs for salads, which among other things are a great refreshment to their seamen when they arrive here.

Though the Dutch go no higher with their ships than Domea, yet the English usually go about three miles farther up, and there lie at anchor during their stay in this country. We did so at this time.

The place was not above twenty miles from the sea, but the trade of the kingdom is driven at Cachao, the principal city ; where for that reason the English and Dutch East India Companies have each of them their factors constantly residing. The city was farther up the river, about eighty miles from our anchoring place ; and our captains

got themselves in readiness to go thither ; it being usual to send up the goods in the country boats, which are large and commodious enough ; and the hire is pretty reasonable both for the vessels and the men who manage them. They are Tonquinese, and use both oars and sails. Our factory at Cachao had news of our arrival before we came to an anchor and immediately the chief of the factory, with some of the King of Tonquin's officers, came down to us ; by that time we had lain there about four or five days. The Tonquinese officers came to take an account of the ships and lading, and were received with great civility, firing of guns, feasting for two or three days, and presents also on their return to Cachao.

Soon after their departure, the chief of the factory returned thither, and with him went our captain and some others, among whom I also got leave to go. We went from our ships in the country boats we had hired, and as we advanced up the river, sometimes rowing, sometimes sailing, we had a delightful prospect over a large level fruitful country. It was generally either pasture or rice fields, and devoid of trees except about the villages.

In about four days' time we got to Hean, a town on the east side of the river about eighty miles from the sea. The governor of the adjacent province lives here, and either he or his deputy gives his *chop*, or pass, to all vessels, not so much as a boat being suffered to proceed without it. For this reason we also made a stop ; but as we stayed here but a little while I did not go ashore.

From Hean we went up to Cachao, being about two days more on our voyage, for we had no tide to help us. We landed at the English factory, and I stayed there seven or eight days, before I went down to our ships again in one of the country boats. We had good weather coming up, but it rained all the time during my stay

at Cachao, and we had much wet weather afterwards. But having got thus far, I shall now proceed to give some general account of this country, from my own observation and the experience of merchants and others worthy of credit.

CHAPTER XXI

A DESCRIPTION OF TONQUIN

THE kingdom of Tonquin is bounded to the north and north-east with China, to the west with the kingdom of Laos, to the south and east with Cochin-China and the sea. That part that borders on the sea is all very low land, mostly black earth, and the mould pretty deep. In some places there is very strong clay. The country in general is very well watered ; and by means of the great navigable river and its branches, it has the opportunity of foreign trade. It is wooded in some parts, but the low land in general is either grassy pasture or rice fields. The trees are of various sorts, mostly unknown to us, but there is good timber for building either ships or houses. There is a tree called by the natives *pone*, chiefly used for making cabinets or other wares to be lacquered. This is a soft sort of wood, not unlike fir, but not so serviceable. Another tree that grows in this country yields the lac with which cabinets and other fine things are overlaid. Here are also mulberry trees in great quantity, to feed the silkworms, from whence comes the chief trade in the country.

There is plenty of rice, especially in the low land that is fattened by the overflowing rivers. They have two crops every year, one in May, the other in November, and though the low land is sometimes overflowed with water in the time of harvest, they gather the crop and fetch it home wet in their canoas ; and making the rice fast in small bundles, hang it up on their houses to dry. This serves

them for bread corn, on which the inhabitants chiefly live.

The rivers and ponds are stored with various sorts of excellent fish, besides abundance of frogs, which are angled for, being highly esteemed by the Tonquinese. The sea, too, contributes much towards the support of poor people by yielding plentiful stores of fish, besides turtle, which frequently come ashore on the sandy bays to lay their eggs. Their way of fishing differs little from ours. In the rivers they take some of the fish with hook and line, others with nets of several sorts. At the mouths of the rivers they set nets against the stream or tide. These have two long wings opening on each side the mouth to guide the fish into it; where passing through a narrow neck they are caught in a bag at the farther end.

For all these sorts of provision there are markets duly kept all over Tonquin once a week, in a neighbourhood of four or five villages, and held at each of them successively in order. These markets are abundantly more stored with rice than either with flesh or fish; yet there is no lack of pork, ducks and hens, eggs, fish, great and small, with all sorts of roots, herbs, and fruits. But at Cachao, where there are markets kept every day, they have also beef, goats' flesh, horse flesh, cats and dogs, and locusts.

They dress their food very cleanly, and make it savoury; but they have many dishes that would turn the stomach of a stranger, as particularly, a dish of raw pork, which is very cheap and common. This is only pork cut and minced very small, fat and lean together; which being afterwards made up in balls or rolls like sausages, and pressed very hard together, is then neatly wrapped up in clean leaves, and without more ado served up to table. Raw beef is another dish much esteemed at Cachao. Elephants they eat also; and the trunk of this beast is an acceptable present for a nobleman, and that, too, though the beast

dies with age or sickness. For here are but few wild elephants, and those so shy that they are not easily taken. But the king having a great number of tame elephants gives one of these that dies to the poor, who presently fetch away the flesh, but the trunk is cut in pieces and presented to the mandarins. Cats and dogs are killed purposely for the shambles, and great yellow frogs are much admired, especially when they come fresh out of the pond. They have many other such choice dishes; and in all the villages, at any time of the day, there are several to be sold by poor people, who make it their trade. The most common sort of cookery, next to boiled rice, is to dress little bits of pork, spitted five or six of them together on a small skewer and roasted. In the markets also, and daily in every village, there are women sitting in the streets, with a pipkin over a small fire, full of *chau*, as they call it, a sort of very ordinary tea of a reddish brown colour, which is their ordinary drink.

The kingdom of Tonquin is in general healthy enough, especially in the dry season, when also it is very delightful. For the seasons of the year at Tonquin and all other countries between the tropics are distinguished into *wet* and *dry*, as properly as others are into winter and summer. During the wet months it is excessively hot, especially whenever the sun breaks out of the clouds, and there is then but little wind stirring. I have been told by a gentleman who lived there many years that it was the hottest place that ever he was in, though he had been in many other parts of India. The wet season begins here the latter end of April, or the beginning of May; and holds till the latter end of August, in which time are very violent rains, some of many hours, others of two or three days' continuance. Yet these are not without some considerable intervals of fair weather, especially toward the beginning or end of the season.

By these rains are caused those land-floods which never fail in countries between the tropics at their annual periods ; all the rivers then overflowing their banks. This is a thing so well known to all who are in any way acquainted with the Torrid Zone, that the cause of the overflowing of the Nile, to find out which the ancients set their wits so much upon the rack, is now no longer a secret.

In August the weather at Tonquin is more moderate, and September and October more temperate still ; yet the worst weather in all the year for seamen is one of the three months last mentioned, for then the violent storms called Tuffoons (typhoons) are expected. These winds are so very fierce that for fear of them the Chinese that trade thither will not stir out of harbour till the end of October, after which month there is no more danger of any violent storms till the next year.

Tuffoons are a particular kind of violent storms blowing on the coast of Tonquin and the neighbouring coasts in the months of July, August, and September. They commonly happen near the full or change of the moon, and are usually preceded by very fair weather, small winds, and a clear sky. Before the storm comes there appears a threatening cloud in the N.E. which is very black near the horizon, but towards the upper edge it looks of a dark copper colour, and higher still it is brighter, afterwards fading to a whitish glare at the very edge of the cloud. This cloud appears very amazing and ghastly, and is sometimes seen twelve hours before the storm comes. When it begins to move apace, you may expect the wind presently. It comes on fiercely, and blows very violently at N.E. twelve hours, more or less. It is also commonly accompanied with terrible claps of thunder, large and frequent flashes of lightning, and excessively hard rain. When the wind begins to abate it dies away suddenly, and falling flat calm, it continues so an hour, more or less ;

then it comes round to the S.W. and it blows and rains as fiercely from thence as it did before at N.E., and as long.

November and December are two very dry, wholesome, warm, and pleasant months. January, February, and March are pretty dry; but then you have thick fogs in the morning, and sometimes drizzling cold rains. The air in these three months, particularly in January and February, is very sharp, especially when the wind is at N.E. or N.N.E., whether because of the quarter it blows from, or the land it blows over, I know not. April is counted a moderate month, either as to heat or cold, dryness or moisture.

This is ordinarily the state of their year; yet these various seasons are not so exact in their returns but that there may be sometimes the difference of a month or more. Neither are the several seasons, when they do come, altogether alike in all years. Sometimes the rains are not sufficient to produce reasonable crops, or else they come so unseasonably as to injure and destroy the rice. For the husbandry of this country, and others in the Torrid Zone, depends on the annual floods to moisten and fatten the land, and if the rice fails, such a populous country as this cannot subsist without being beholden to its neighbours. But when it comes to that pass, that they must be supplied by sea, many of the poorer sort sell their children to relieve their wants, and so preserve their lives, whilst others that have no children to sell may be famished and die miserably in the streets. It is sometimes here, as in all populous countries, very hard with the poor, especially the tradespeople in the large towns. For the trade is very uncertain, and the people are employed according to the number of ships that come thither to fetch away their goods. If but few ships come, as sometimes happens, then the poor are ready to famish for want of work whereby to

get a living. And not only this, but most silk countries are stocked with great multitudes of poor people, who work cheap and live meanly on a little rice, so that if it is not cheap, as it commonly is here, they are not able to maintain themselves.

CHAPTER XXII

THE TONQUINESE

TONQUIN is very populous, being thick-set with villages, and the natives are generally of middle stature and clean-limbed. They are of a tawny Indian colour ; but I think the fairest and clearest that I ever saw of that complexion. Their faces are flattish and of an oval form. Their noses and lips are proportionable enough, and altogether graceful. Their hair is black, long, and lank, and very thick ; and they wear it hanging down to their shoulders. Their teeth are as black as they can make them ; for this being accounted a great ornament, they dye them of that colour, and are three or four days doing it, when they are about twelve or fourteen years old.

They are generally dexterous, nimble and active, and ingenious in any mechanic science they profess. This may be seen by the multitude of fine silks that are made here ; and the curious lacquer-work that is yearly exported. The Tonquinese make very good servants, being faithful, diligent, and obedient. They are patient in labour, but in sickness they are mightily dejected. They have one great fault extremely common among them, which is gaming. To this they are so universally addicted, that neither the awe of their masters nor anything else is sufficient to restrain them till they have lost all they have, even their very clothes.

The clothes of the Tonquinese are made of either silk or cotton. The poor people and soldiers chiefly wear

or ditch. There may be in Cachao about 20,000 houses, most of which have a yard, belonging to them. In each yard you shall see a small arched building made somewhat like an oven, about six feet high, with the mouth on the ground. It is built from top to bottom with brick, daubed thick all over with mud and dirt. The use of it is to thrust their chief goods into when a fire happens; for these low thatched houses are very subject to take fire, especially in the dry seasons. As every private person has this contrivance to secure his own goods, so the government has carefully ordered necessary means to be used for the preventing of fire, or extinguishing it before it gets too great a hold. For in the beginning of the dry season every man must keep a great jar of water on the top of his house, to be ready to pour down as occasion shall serve. Besides this, he is to keep a long pole, with a basket or bowl at the end of it, to throw water out of the kennels upon the houses.

The principal streets in Cachao are very wide, though some are but narrow. They are most of them paved, or patched rather, with small stones; but after a very ill manner. In the wet season they are very dirty; and in the dry time there are many stagnant ponds, and some ditches full of stinking black mud, in and about the city. This makes it unpleasant, and a man would think unwholesome too: yet it is healthy enough, as far as I perceived, or could ever learn.

The Tonquinese have two annual feasts. The chief is at the first new moon of the New Year. At this time they make merry and rejoice ten or twelve days, and then there is no business done, but every man makes himself as fine as may be, especially the common sort. These spend their time in gaming or sporting, and you shall see the streets full of people, both citizens and country folks, gazing at several diverting exercises. Some set up swings in the

streets, others spend their time in drinking tea, or make themselves merry with hot rack. The nobles treat their friends with good cheer and more especially chew abundance of betel, making presents thereof to one another.

The betel leaf is the great entertainment in the East for all visitors, and is always given with the arek folded up in it. They make up the arek in pellets fit for use, by first peeling off the outer green hard rind of the nuts, and then splitting it lengthways in three or four parts, more or less, according to its size. Then they daub the leaf all over with *chinam*, or lime, made into a paste and kept in a box for this purpose, spreading it thin. Every man here has a box that will hold a great many of these pellets, in which they keep a store ready made up: for all persons, of what quality soever, from the prince to the beggar, chew abundance of it. The poorer sort carry a small pouchful about with them, but the mandarin, or great men, have curious oval boxes, made purposely to hold fifty or sixty. These boxes are neatly lacquered and gilded, both inside and outside, with a cover to take off; and if any strangers visit them, especially Europeans, they are sure, among other good entertainment, to be treated with a box of betel.

The other great feast they have, is after their May crop is housed, about the beginning of June. At this also they have public rejoicings, but much inferior to those of their New Year's feast.

Their religion is paganism, and they are great idolaters. The pagodas or idol temples are not sumptuous and magnificent, as in some of the neighbouring kingdoms. They are generally built of timber, and are but small and low, yet mostly covered with pantile, except in the country, where some of them are thatched. There were many priests belonging to these pagodas, but their subsistence being chiefly from offerings, they are usually very poor.

One thing the people resort to them for is fortune-telling, at which they pretend to be very expert.

The Tonquinese have learnt several mechanic arts and trades. They make fairly good paper, of two sorts, one of silk, the other of rinds of trees. The lacquered ware that is made here is inferior only to that of Japan, which is esteemed the best in the world. The earthenware is coarse and of a grey colour, yet they make great quantities of small earthen dishes, that will hold half a pint or more. These are broader towards the brim than at the bottom, so that they may be stowed within one another, and have been sold by Europeans in many of the Malayan countries. Money-changing is a great profession here. It is managed by women, who are very dexterous in this employment. They hold their cabals in the night, and know how to raise their cash as well as the cunningest stock-jobber in London.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE GOVERNMENT OF TONQUIN

THE King always keeps a great many soldiers, and it is said that he has seventy or eighty thousand constantly in pay. These are mostly foot, armed with *curtans* or swords, and hand-guns of three feet and a half or four feet in the barrel. They are all match-locks, and very thick and heavy. The soldiers make their own powder. They have little engines for mixing the ingredients, and make as small a quantity as they please. But they do not know how to corn it ; therefore it is in unequal lumps, some as big as the top of a man's thumb, and some no bigger than a white pea. I have not seen any powder well corned that has been made in any of these Eastern nations.

The soldiers have each a cartridge-box covered with leather, after the manner of the West-Indian privateers ; but instead of paper cartridges these are filled with small hollow canes, each containing a load or charge of powder, which they empty out of the cane into the gun ; so that each box has in it, as it were, so many bandoliers. Their arms are kept very bright and clean, for which purpose every one of them has a hollow bamboo to lay over the barrel of his gun, and to keep the dust from it as it lies over the rack in his house. When they march also in rainy weather, they have another bamboo to cover their guns. This is large enough to cover the whole barrel, and very well lacquered ; so that it is not only handsome, but also preserves the gun dry.

The soldiers when they march are led by an officer,

who is leader of the file ; and every file consists of ten men ; but they do not keep their ranks in marching. They are mostly strong well-made men, for it is that which chiefly recommends them to the King's service. They must also have good stomachs, for that is a still greater recommendation ; neither can any man be entertained as a soldier, that has not a greater stroke than ordinary at eating, for by this they judge of his strength and constitution. For this reason, when a soldier comes to be listed, his stomach is first proved with rice, the common subsistence of the ordinary people in this kingdom ; and according as he acquits himself in this first trial of his manhood, so he is either discharged or entertained in the service. It is reported that at these trials they commonly eat eight or nine cups of rice, each containing a pint, and they are ever afterwards esteemed and advanced, according to the first day's service. The greatest eaters are chiefly employed as guards to the King, and commonly attend on his person. The province of Ngean breeds the lustiest men and the best eaters, who for that reason are generally employed as soldiers. After thirty years' service a soldier may petition to be disbanded ; and then the village where he was born must send another man to serve in his room.

The horsemen are but few, and armed with bows, and long spears or lances, like the Moors and Turks. Both these and the foot-soldiers are very dexterous in using their weapons, and shoot very well either with gun or bow ; for they are often exercised by shooting at marks. The King orders a shooting match once a year, and rewards the best marksman with a fine coat, or a sum about the value of a dollar. The mark is a white earthen cup, placed against a bank, and the distance they stand to fire at it is about eighty yards. He who breaks the first cup has the finest coat, and there are others of less worth and finery for the rest who have the good fortune to break the other

cups. This is all at the King's charge, who encourages this exercise very much, as a means to make them good marksmen ; and they generally prove such. They will load and fire the quickest of any people, and when they shoot they level and fire at first sight, yet very successfully.

Though the King of Tonquin has no forts, yet he keeps always a great many soldiers on the frontier towns of his kingdom, especially on the south-west, to check the Cochin-Chinese, his implacable enemies. When he sends an army by land on any expedition, the general and other great officers are mounted on elephants. These have neat little boarded houses fastened on their backs, where the great men sit in state, secured from the sun or rain.

Besides the soldiers on the frontiers, and those who attend the King about Cachao, he has many others that keep guard in several parts of his kingdom, especially on the great roads and rivers. These search all exported goods, to see that no prohibited goods are sent out of the kingdom, especially arms ; and no prohibited goods brought in. They also look after the customs, and see that all goods have paid before they may pass further. All travellers are also searched by them, and strictly examined ; and if any persons are taken only on suspicion, they are used very severely, till they can clear themselves ; so that no disaffected or rebellious person can stir without being presently known, and this renders the King very safe in his government.

The King's naval force consists only in a sort of flat-bottomed galleys, apparently designed more for State than service, except to transport soldiers from one place to another. The place where the captain sits in is the stern, and is neatly covered to keep off the sun or the rain. This being higher than any other part of the vessel appears like a little throne, especially that of the general's galley. This is more magnificent than the rest, though all are built much

of one form. From the stern to the waist, it is covered over to shelter the men and their arms. Before the waist there are places for oars in each side, and a plain even deck for the rowers to stand by their tackling. Each galley carries a small brass gun, which is planted afore, and looks out through a port in the bow. They have a small mast and a mat sail, and are rowed with from sixteen to twenty-four oars.

The soldiers are always the men that row. Every one stands upright behind his oar, which lies in its notch on the gunwale, and he thrusts it forward with great strength. They plunge their oars all at one instant into the water, keeping exact time ; and that they may the better do this, there is one that strikes on a small gong, or a wooden instrument, before every stroke of the oar. Then the rowers all at once answer with a sort of hollow noise through the throat, and a stamp on the deck with one foot, and immediately plunge their oars into the water. Thus the gong and the rowers alternately answer each other, making a sound that seems very pleasant and warlike to those who are at a small distance on the water or shore.

The magistrates and other great men of this kingdom are called mandarins. They all rule with absolute power and authority in their several precincts, yet in great obedience to the King, who is as absolute over them, as they are over the common people. They live in great state, and love mightily to be visited, esteeming themselves highly honoured thereby. When they treat any, they are best pleased with those who eat and drink heartily. In their entertainments, and at their ordinary eating, instead of forks and spoons, they use two small round sticks about the length and thickness of a tobacco pipe. They hold them both in the right hand, one between the forefinger and thumb, the other between the middle finger and the forefinger, as our boys do their snappers. They use them

very dexterously, taking up the smallest grain of rice with them ; nor is it accounted mannerly to touch the food, after it is dressed, with their hands. And though it be difficult for strangers to use them, being unaccustomed to them, yet a little use will overcome that difficulty ; and persons that reside here ought to learn this, as well as other innocent customs of the country, so that their company may be more acceptable. All the Tonquinese keep many of these sticks in their houses, as well for their own use, as to entertain strangers at meals. They are as ordinarily placed at the table here, as knives, forks, and spoons are in England ; and a man that cannot dexterously handle these instruments makes but an odd figure at their tables. The richer sort of people, especially the mandarins, have them tipped with silver. In China also these things are constantly used, and are called by the English seamen *chopsticks*.

CHAPTER XXIV

AFOOT IN TONQUIN

I HAVE already spoken of my first going up the river to Cachao, and my returning to our ships after a few days. There I lay on board for a great while, and sickly for the most part ; yet not so, but that I took a boat and went ashore almost every day, and by this means I took as particular notice as I could of the country, and have supplemented my own observations with those of our *merchants residing there, and other persons of judgment and integrity.*

During this interval, rice being dear at Cachao, as it had been for some time, both our merchants and natives were for making up a fleet of small vessels to fetch rice from the neighbouring provinces. They never go in single vessels, for fear of pirates, who infest the coast with their canoas and shelter themselves among several little islands lying at the edge of the East Province and bordering upon the Province of Tenan, whither these merchants were bound.

Captain Weldon was one who concerned himself in this expedition, hiring a vessel and seamen from the Tonquinese, and sending some of his own men with them as a guard, among whom I would very fain have gone, had I not been indisposed.

These vessels were five or six weeks in their voyage to and from Tenan, and at their return Captain Weldon's bark did not go up to Cachao with the rice, but unloaded it into our ship to supply us. Soon after this I went a

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second time up to Cachao, not in a boat as before, but on foot along the country, being desirous to see as much of it as I could ; and I hired a Tonquinese for about a dollar to be my guide. This, though but a small matter, was a great deal out of my pocket, for I had not above two dollars in all, which I had earned on board by teaching some of our young seamen *plain sailing*.¹ It was the worse with me, because I was forced to make short journeys every day by reason of my weakness.

It was about the latter end of November, 1688, when we set out. We kept on the east side of the river, where we found the roads pretty dry, yet in some places dirty enough. We ferried over several creeks and brooks running into the great river, where are ferry boats always plying. The fever and ague which I brought with me from Achin were gone, and though I was still weak, yet I was not discouraged from this journey, being weary of lying still, and impatient to see something that might further gratify my curiosity.

We found no houses of entertainment on the road, yet at every village we came to we got house-room, and a barbecue of split bamboos to sleep on. The people were very civil, lending us an earthen pot to dress rice, or anything else. Usually after supper I took a ramble about the village to see what was worth notice, especially the pagoda of the place. This had the image of either a horse or an elephant or both, standing with the head looking out of the doors. The pagodas themselves were but small and low. It was generally dark before I returned to my lodging and laid me down to sleep. My guide carried my sea-gown, which was my covering for the night, and my pillow was a log of wood. But I slept very well, though the weakness of my body now required better accommodation.

I got with much ado to Hean and presently made my

¹ Simple calculation of a ship's position.

way towards the French bishop's, as the likeliest place for me to rest at, and get more information about the country from the European missionaries, whose seat it is. The bishop's palace is a pretty neat low house by the side of the river. It was not long before one of the priests came to me and received me very civilly. With him I had a great deal of discourse. He was a Frenchman by nation, but spoke Spanish and Portuguese very well. It was chiefly in Spanish that we entertained each other, which I understood much better than I could speak, and when I was at a loss I had recourse to Latin, having still some smatterings of what I learned of it at school in my youth. He asked me many questions, and particularly if I was a Roman Catholic. I told him no ; but falling then into a discourse about religion, he told me what progress the Gospel was likely to make in these Eastern nations. In Siam it was in a very fair way to receive encouragement : the King was very much inclined to it and it was hoped that in a short time the whole nation would be converted. As for Tonquin, he told me that the people in general were inclined to embrace the Christian faith, but that the government was wholly averse to it. At present they had about 14,000 converts and more coming in daily.

At length the French priest asked me if any of our English ships brought powder to sell. I told him I thought not. Then he asked me if I knew the composition of powder. I answered that I had receipts how to make either cannon or fine powder, and told him the manner of the composition. He desired me to try and make a pound, saying that he had all the ingredients and an engine to mix them. I was persuaded to try my skill, which I had never yet tried, not knowing what I might be put to before I got to England ; and having drunk a glass or two of wine with him, I went to work. It succeeded so well that I pleased him extremely, and the reader shall have the

We stayed here about an hour, and then entered our boat again and rowed forwards. About eight or nine o'clock the next day I was set ashore. I was now five or six miles short of the city, but in a good path ; for the land here was pretty high, level, and sandy, and the road plain and dry, and I reached Cachao by noon. I presently went to one Mr Bowyer's house, who was a free merchant with whom Captain Weldon lodged ; but was so weak that I was scarce able to go about and so was forced to learn from others, in a great measure, several particulars relating to this place. This my weakness, joined with my disappointment, for I found that I was not likely to be employed in any voyage to the neighbouring countries, made me very desirous of returning as soon as possible ; and it happened opportunely that Captain Weldon had by this time done his business, and was preparing for his departure.

I went therefore down the river again to our ships in a vessel our merchants had hired to carry their goods aboard from Cachao. Captain Weldon came to us in a few days, and Captain Brewster with him to go as a passenger in his ship, together with one or two more ; and two ships who came with us being also ready for their departure, we all weighed anchor and took leave of Tonquin.

same time. This being a better ship than I was gone aboard of, Captain Tyler immediately fitted her up for the sea, in order to send her to Pegu.

By this time my vessel was laden, and my cargo was eleven thousand coco-nuts, five or six cwt. of sugar, and half a dozen chests of drawers of Japan work, two of which were very large, designed for a present to the King. Besides this, Captain Tyler (for so we used to call him, though he was only a merchant) said he intended to send a good quantity of gold thither, by which he expected to gain sixty or seventy per cent.; for by report the King of Pegu had lately built a very magnificent pagoda, and was gilding it very richly with gold; besides which he was making a large image of massy gold for the chief pagod of this temple.

It was now about the middle of August, and though I was ready to sail, yet I was ordered to stay for Captain Tyler's other vessel, till she had taken in her cargo. This was also coco-nuts; and she had about eight or nine thousand already aboard, when I received an order from Captain Tyler to put all my cargo into her, as also my water-cask, and whatever else I could spare that they wanted. But he told me to be satisfied, for in a short time I should be sent to sea; but that ship being the bigger, he thought it more convenient to dispatch her first. I presently did as I was ordered; and finding that I should not go this voyage, I sold also my small cargo, consisting of some coco-nuts and about a hundred nutmegs.

About this time the *George*, a great English ship belonging to one Mr Dalton, arrived here from the City of Siam, coming through the Straits of Malacca. Among his passengers was Captain Minchin, who had formerly served the East India Company at Surat, but on some disgust left that place and came to Siam. There he was made

gunner of a fort, and maintained his wife and family very well in that employ, till the revolution there, when the Company's orders came and called him from thence. He being now destitute of employment, the merchants there thought of making him commander of the vessel that I was in because Captain Tyler was minded to sell part of her. Accordingly they met about it, and the vessel was divided into four parts, three of which were purchased by Mr Dalton, Mr Coventry, and Captain Minchin, and Captain Tyler kept the fourth. The next day Captain Minchin came off with an order to me to deliver him possession of the ship, and told me that if I liked to go as his mate, I might still keep aboard till they had agreed on a voyage. I was forced to submit, and accepted a mate's employ under Captain Minchin. It was not long before we were ordered for Malacca to buy goods there. We carried no goods with us except three or four hundred pounds of opium.

It was about the middle of September, 1689, when we sailed from Achin. We were four white men in the vessel ; the Captain, Mr Coventry, who went supercargo, myself, and the boatswain. For common seamen we had seven or eight Moors ; and generally in these country ships the white men are all officers. Two days after we left Achin, being becalmed under the shore, we came to an anchor. Not long after, a ship coming in from the seaward came to an anchor about two miles ahead of us. Mr Coventry knew her to be a Danish ship belonging to Trangambar ; and therefore we hoisted out our boat, and thought to have spoken with her ; but a small breeze springing up, they weighed their anchors and went away ; neither would they speak with us, though we made signs for them to stay. We weighed also, and jogged on after them, but they sailed better than we. We met little winds and calms, so that it was seven or eight days before we got

as far as Diamond-point, which is about forty leagues from Achin.

The land from hence lying S.S.E. we steered so ; but meeting with calms again, we anchored several times before we got to the River Dilly, twenty-eight leagues from Diamond-point. The river is in latitude $3^{\circ} 50' N$. It does not seem to be very large, but it is not well known, except to the natives who inhabit it, and they are not very sociable, but are, by report, a sort of pirates living on rapine. In the morning we saw a sail, and having a fair wind, stood after them, intending to wood and water at Pulo Verero, an island lying seven leagues from the mouth of the River Dilly. We anchored about a mile from them, at eight o'clock at night, and presently hoisted out our boat to go aboard ; for we judged that this was the Danish ship that we saw when we first came from Achin. I went in the boat, because Mr Coventry told me that Mr Coppinger was surgeon of her—the same person who was with me when I was set ashore at the Nicobar Isles, but was not suffered to stay with me. We went and hailed the ship, asking whence she came and who was commander. They answered, they were Danes from Trangambar ; for it was the ship we took her to be. Then they asked who we were. I answered, English from Achin, and that Mr Coventry was in the boat ; but they would not believe it till he spoke and the Captain knew his voice. Neither did they till then believe we were friends, for every man had his gun in his hand ready to fire on us if we had gone aboard without hailing ; for it seems they were extremely afraid of us. In this ship I found Mr Coppinger ; and he was the first that I had seen of all the company that left me at the Nicobar Islands. The next morning we filled our water and weighed again, the Danes being gone a little before.

A westerly wind brought us before Malacca town about the middle of October ; and here I first heard that King

William and Queen Mary were crowned King and Queen of England. The Danes that left us at Pulo Verero had not yet arrived ; for, as we afterwards understood, they could not find the way through the sands, but were forced to keep along without them, and fetch a great compass about, which retarded their passage.

Malacca is a pretty large town, of about two or three hundred families of Dutch and Portuguese. There are also many of the native Malaysians living in small cottages on the outskirts. The Dutch houses are built with stone, and the streets are wide and straight, but not paved. At the north-west of the town there is a wall and gate to pass in and out, and a small fort always guarded with soldiers. The town stands on low level ground close by the sea. On the east side there is a small river which at spring-tide will admit small barks to enter. About a hundred paces from the sea there is a drawbridge, which leads from the midst of the town to a strong fort, built on the east side of the river. This is the chief fort, and is built at the foot of a little steep hill. Its form is semicircular. It fronts chiefly to the sea, and having its foundation on firm rocks, the walls are carried up to a good height and of a considerable thickness. The lower part of it is washed by the sea every tide.

The first Europeans who settled here were the Portuguese, who also built the great fort. They were the first discoverers by sea of the East Indies, and had thereby the advantage of trade with these rich Eastern people, as well as the opportunity, through their weakness, to settle themselves where they pleased. But presuming upon the strength of their forts they insulted the natives, and being grown rich with trade, fell into all manner of looseness and debauchery, the usual concomitant of wealth, and as commonly the forerunner of ruin. These injuries exasperated the Malaysians here, who, joining with the Dutch,

found means to betray to them their insolent masters the Portuguese, than whom there are not a more despicable people now in all the Eastern nations, and of all they once possessed they have now only Goa left, of any consequence. The Dutch are now masters of most of the places they once held ; and particularly this of Malacca.

Malacca is a place of no great trade, by what I could see, but it seems to be designedly built to command the passage of shipping going this way to the more eastern nations. The Dutch keep a guard ship here ; and I have been told they require a certain duty of all vessels that pass this way, the English only excepted ; for all ships touch at this place, especially for wood, water, and refreshment.

I have said already that we had only three or four hundred pounds of opium in goods, the rest being in money to the value of two thousand dollars. But we did not pretend that we came hither purposely to trade, but that finding our vessel unfit for the sea, we put in here to repair her. Leave was granted us for this, and I prepared to bring our vessel ashore, at the west end of the town, not far from the small fort. Opium, which is much used by the Malaysians at most places, was a great commodity here at this time ; but it is prohibited goods, and therefore though many asked for it, we were shy of having it too openly known that we had any. But Mr Coventry found a customer, and they discovered means to get it ashore while the soldiers of the fort were at dinner.

We bought iron bars, arrack, canes, and rattans where-with we loaded our vessel, which was now set afloat again. The Dutch brought most of our goods aboard, and were more kind than I expected, for they had not used to trade with us, and I believe the news of our Revolution in England had sweetened them ; for they often drank the King's health with us very heartily. While we were here we made two new cables of rattans, each of them four

inches about. Our captain bought the rattans, and hired a Chinese who was very expert to work them. These cables I found serviceable enough afterwards, in mooring the vessel with either of them. To conclude with Malacca, our goods being all aboard, we filled our water, and got all in readiness for our departure.

over it. Two or three days after this we sighted some islands called Pulo Sambilong, which in the Malayan language signifies "Nine Islands." It was near one of these that Captain Minchin in a former voyage was like to lose his hand by a prick with a catfish's fin.

We stood in pretty near the shore in hopes to gain a fresh land wind. But a small tornado coming off the shore about midnight, we broke our mizen-yard, and being near a Dutch island called Pulo Dinding, we made in for it, and anchored there the night ensuing. We found there a Dutch sloop, manned with about thirty soldiers, at anchor.

The Dutch, who are the only inhabitants, have a fort on the east side, close by the sea, with a governor and twenty or more soldiers. The natives are Malaysians, but whether they are governed by a king or rajah I know not. They have boats of their own, with which they fish and traffic among themselves; but the tin trade is what has formerly drawn merchant strangers hither, and the Dutch have monopolised that trade to themselves. It was probably for this reason that the Dutch built the fort, and have also a guard ship and a sloop lying there to hinder other nations from this trade. For this *tutenag*¹ or tin is a valuable commodity in the Bay of Bengal, and here purchased reasonably, by giving other commodities in exchange.

No ship may come in hither but with consent of the Dutch; therefore as soon as we anchored at the east end of the island we sent a boat ashore to the governor, to desire leave to wood, water, and cut a new mizen-yard. He granted our request, and the next morning betimes Captain Minchin sent me ashore to cut a yard. So I went into the woods, where I saw abundance of fine straight trees, and cut down such a one as I thought fit for my turn. I left it ready to be fetched away, and returned to

¹ Really an alloy resembling German silver.

the fort, where I dined with the governor. Presently after dinner our captain, with Mr Richards and his wife, came ashore, and I went aboard. The next morning I sent men to bring off the mizen-yard I had cut, but it was so heavy that they could not bring it out of the woods. Captain Minchin was still ashore, and desired the governor to send a soldier to show our men what trees were best for our use. He did so, and they presently cut a small tree and brought it aboard. I immediately went to work, and having fitted it for use, bent my sail, and hoisted it up in its place. In the evening Captain Minchin and Mr Richards and his wife came aboard, having stayed the night at the fort.

We now waited only for a land wind to carry us out. Getting clear of the island, we stood over for Sumatra, and passed by Diamond-point, arriving at Achin about the end of November, 1689.

Here we found Mr Coventry, who had got hither two or three days before us. Captain Minchin went ashore with his passengers, and was discharged of his command. I kept aboard till all the goods were unloaded, and then lay ashore for a fortnight very sick of a kind of fever. But after Christmas I was sent aboard again, by order of Mr Coventry, who had bought out Mr Dalton's and Captain Tyler's shares, to take charge of the vessel, which he had then laden with pepper, cubebs (which I think grow somewhere in Sumatra) and tutenag, which he bought of an English vessel that came from Queda to Achin. With this cargo and some of the rattans and walking-canes from Malacca we were bound for Fort St George. We took in also two English passengers, who had escaped out of prison in the Mogul's country.

It was about New Year's Day, 1690, that we set out from Achin again. We steered away toward the Nicobar Islands and came in sight of that upon which I had been formerly set ashore. But leaving it on our starboard, we stood more

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northerly up into the Bay, and having then a fair N.E. wind, we ran along the coast till we came before Fort St George about the middle of January.

While I was there, about April, 1690, there arrived a ship called the *Mindanao Merchant*, laden with clove-bark from Mindanao. Three of Captain Swan's men, that remained there when we went from thence, came in her. From them I had an account of Captain Swan's death. There was also one Mr Moody, who was supercargo of the ship. This gentleman bought at Mindanao the Painted Prince Jeoly and his mother, and brought them to Fort St George, where they were much admired by all that saw them. Some time after this, Mr Moody, who spoke the Malayan language very well, and was a person very capable to manage the Company's affairs, was ordered by the governor of Fort St George to prepare to go to Indrapore, an English factory on the west coast of Sumatra, in order to succeed Mr Gibbons, who was chief of that place.

By this time I was very intimately acquainted with Mr Moody, and was importuned by him to go with him and to be gunner of the fort there. I always told him that I had a great desire to go to the Bay of Bengal, and that I had now an offer to go thither with Captain Metcalf, who wanted a mate, and had already spoken to me. Mr Moody, to encourage me to go with him, told me that if I would go with him to Indrapore, he would buy a small vessel there, and send me as her commander to the Island Meangis; and that I should carry Prince Jeoly and his mother with me (that being their country) by which means I might gain a commerce with his people for cloves.

This was a design that I liked very well, and so I consented to go thither. It was some time in July 1690, when we went from Fort St George in a small ship called the *Diamond*, Captain Howel, commander. We were about

fifty or sixty passengers in all : some ordered to be left at Indrapore and some at Bencouli. Five or six of us were officers, the rest soldiers to the Company. We met nothing in our voyage that deserves notice, till we came abreast of Indrapore. Then the wind came at N.W. and blew so hard that we could not get in, but were forced to bear away to Bencouli, another English factory on the same coast, lying fifty or sixty leagues to the south.

Upon our arrival at Bencouli we saluted the fort, and were welcomed. The same day we came to an anchor, and Captain Howel and Mr Moody with the other merchants went ashore, and were all kindly received by the governor of the fort. It was two days before I went ashore, and then I was importuned by the governor to stay there, to be gunner of this fort, because the gunner was lately dead, and this being a place of greater importance than Indrapore, I should do the Company more service here than there. I told him that if he was willing to augment my salary, which by agreement with the governor of Fort St George I was to have had at Indrapore, I was willing to serve him, provided Mr Moody would consent to it. As to my salary, he told me I should have twenty-four dollars per month, which was as much as he gave to the old gunner.

Mr Moody gave no answer till a week after, and then, being ready to be gone to Indrapore, he told me I might use my own liberty either to stay here or go with him. He added that if I went with him he was not certain, as yet, to perform his promise in getting a vessel for me to go to Meangis, with Jeoly and his mother ; but because I left Maderas on his account, he would give me the half-share of the two painted people, and leave them in my possession, and at my disposal. I accepted the offer, and writings were immediately drawn between us.

Thus it was that I came to have this Painted Prince, whose name was Jeoly, and his mother. They were born

wind on the coast of Mindanao, where they were taken ashore and sold as slaves, being first stripped of their gold ornaments. Jeoly was sold to one Michael, a Mindanayan who spoke good Spanish and served Raja Laut as an interpreter. He often beat and abused his painted servant to make him work, but all in vain ; for neither fair means, threats, nor blows would make him work as he would have him. Yet he was very timorous, and could not endure to see any sort of weapons ; and he often told me that they had no arms at Meangis, having no enemies to fight with.

I knew this Michael very well while we were at Mindanao, and often saw Jeoly at his master's house, so that when I came to have him so long afterwards, he remembered me again. I never saw his father or brother, nor any of the others that were taken with them ; but Jeoly came several times aboard our ship when we lay at Mindanao, and gladly accepted such victuals as we gave him, for his master kept him on very short commons.

Prince Jeoly lived thus a slave four or five years, till at last Mr Moody bought him and his mother for sixty dollars, and as is before related, carried him to Fort St George, and from thence along with me to Bencouli. Mr Moody stayed at Bencouli about three weeks, and then went back with Captain Howel to Indrapore, leaving Jeoly and his mother with me. They lived in a house by themselves near the fort. I had no employment for them, but they both employed themselves. She used to make and mend their own clothes, at which she was not very expert, and he busied himself in making a chest with four boards and a few nails that he begged of me. It was but an ill-shaped, odd thing, yet he was as proud of it as if it had been the rarest piece in the world. After some time they were both taken sick, and though I took as much care of them as if they had been my brother and sister, yet she

died. I did what I could to comfort Jeoly, but he took on extremely, insomuch that I feared for him also. I therefore caused a grave to be made presently, to hide her out of his sight. I had her shrouded decently in a piece of new calico, but Jeoly was not so satisfied, for he wrapped all her clothes about her, and two new pieces of chintz that Mr Moody gave her, saying that they were his mother's, and she must have them. I would not disoblige him for fear of endangering his life; and I used all possible means to recover his health; but I found little amendment while we stayed here.

In the little printed relation that was made of him when he was shown for a sight in England, there was a romantic story of a beautiful sister of his, a slave with them at Mindanao; and of the Sultan's falling in love with her; but these were stories indeed. They reported also that his paint was of such virtue, that serpents and venomous creatures would flee from him. But I never knew any paint of such virtue; and as for Jeoly, I have seen him as much afraid of snakes, scorpions, or centipedes, as myself.

The year 1690 drew towards an end, and not finding the governor keep to his agreement with me, nor seeing by his behaviour towards others any great reason to expect that he would, I began to wish myself away again. I saw so much ignorance in him (for he was much fitter to be a book-keeper than governor of a fort); and yet so much insolence and cruelty with respect to those under him, that I soon grew weary of him, not thinking myself very safe, indeed, under a man whose humours were so brutish and barbarous.

I had other motives also for going away. I began to long after my native country, after so tedious a ramble from it; and I proposed no small advantage to myself from my Painted Prince, whom Mr Moody had left entirely to my

disposal, only reserving his right to one half-share in him. For beside what might be gained by showing him in England, I hoped that when I had got some money, I might there obtain what I had in vain sought for in the Indies, viz., a ship from the merchants wherewith to carry him back to Meangis, and re-instate him there in his own country, and by his favour and negotiation to establish a traffic for the spices and other products of those islands.

Upon these projects, I went to the governor and council, and desired that I might have my discharge to go to England with the next ship that came. The council thought it reasonable, and consented to it, and he also gave me his word that I should go. On the 2nd of January, 1691, there came to anchor in Bencouli Road the *Defence*, Captain Heath, commander, bound for England, in the service of the Company. They had been to Indrapore, where Mr Moody then was, and he had made over his share in Prince Jeoly to Mr Goddard, chief mate of the ship. Upon his coming on shore, he showed me Mr Moody's writings, and looked upon Jeoly, who had been sick for three months, in all which time I had tended him as carefully as if he had been my brother. I agreed matters with Mr Goddard, and sent Jeoly on board, intending to follow him as I could, and desiring Mr Goddard's assistance to fetch me off, and conceal me aboard the ship, if there should be occasion. This he promised to do, and the captain promised to entertain me. For it proved, as I had foreseen, that upon Captain Heath's arrival, the governor repented him of his promise, and would not suffer me to depart. I importuned him all I could, but in vain. So did Captain Heath also, but to no purpose. In short, after several essays, I slipped away at midnight (understanding the ship was to sail away the next morning) and creeping through one of the port holes of the fort, I got to the shore, where

the ship's boat waited for me, and carried me on board. I brought with me my journal, and most of my written papers ; but some papers and books of value I left in haste, and all my furniture ; being glad I was myself at liberty, and had hopes of seeing England again.

CHAPTER XXVII

HOMeward BOUND

BEING thus got on board the *Defence*, I was concealed there till a boat, which came from the fort laden with pepper, was gone off again. And then we set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, January 25, 1691, and made the best of our way, as wind and weather would permit, expecting there to meet three more English ships bound home from the Indies; for the war with the French having been proclaimed at Fort St George a little before Captain Heath came from thence, he was willing to have company home, if possible.

We had not been at sea long before our men began to droop, in a sort of distemper that stole insensibly on them and proved fatal to above thirty, who died before we arrived at the Cape. We had sometimes two, and once three men, thrown overboard in a morning. This distemper might probably arise from the badness of the water which we took in at Bencouli, for I observed when I was there that the river water was very unwholesome. Our food also was very bad; for the ship had been out of England upon this voyage above three years; and the salt provision brought from thence, having been so long in salt, was but poor food for sick men to feed on.

Captain Heath, when he saw the misery of his company, ordered his own tamarinds, of which he had some jars aboard, to be given some to each mess, to eat with their rice. This was a great refreshment to the men, and I believe it contributed much to keep us on our legs.

comfort of seeing the land and their course end in this promontory, which therefore they called the Cape de Bon Esperance, or Good Hope, finding that they might now proceed easterly.

The most remarkable land from the sea is a high mountain, steep to the sea, with a flat even top, which is called the Table Land. On the west side of the Cape, a little to the north of it, there is a spacious harbour, with a low flat island lying off it.

The soil of this country is of a brown colour ; not deep, yet fairly productive of grass, herbs, and trees. The grass is short, and the trees small and few. The mould near the harbour is much like this, and though not rich, is very fit for cultivation, yielding good crops to the industrious husbandman. The country is pretty well settled with farms, Dutch families, and French refugees for twenty or thirty leagues inland, but there are few farms near the harbour.

The chief fruits are grapes. These thrive very well, and the country is of late years so well stocked with vineyards that they make abundance of wine, and sell great quantities to ships that touch here.

There is a beautiful sort of wild ass here, whose body is curiously striped with equal lists of white and black, the stripes coming from the ridge of his back, and ending under the belly, which is white. Ostriches are plentiful in the dry mountains and plains. I ate of their eggs here, and those of whom I bought them told me that these creatures lay their eggs in the sand, and so leave them to be hatched by the sun. The meat of one of their eggs will suffice two men very well.

The natural inhabitants of the Cape are the Hodmodods, as they are commonly called, which is a corruption of the word Hottantot ; for this is the name by w^h

to one another, either in their dances, or on any occasion, as if every one of them had this for his name.

They are people of a middle stature, with small limbs and their bodies full of activity. Their faces are of a flat oval figure, of the negro make, with great eyebrows and black eyes, but neither are their noses so flat, nor their lips so thick, as the negroes of Guinea. They smear themselves all over with grease to keep their joints supple as well as to defend their half-naked bodies from the air by stopping up their pores. To do this the more effectually they rub soot over the greased parts, especially their faces, which adds to their natural beauty, as painting does in Europe ; but sends out a strong smell, which though sufficiently pleasing to themselves, is very unpleasant to others.

The Hottantots wear no covering on their heads, but deck their hair with small shells. Their garments are sheepskins wrapped about their shoulders like a mantle, with the woolly sides next their bodies. The men have also a piece of skin like a small apron hanging before them. The women have another skin tucked about their waists, coming down to their knees like a petticoat ; and their legs are wrapped round with sheeps' guts two or three inches thick, some up even as far as their knees, and at a distance they look like a sort of boots.

Their houses are the meanest I ever saw. They are about nine or ten feet high, and ten or twelve from side to side. They are made roughly circular with small poles stuck into the ground and brought together at the top, where they are fastened. The sides and top of the house are filled up with boughs coarsely wattled between the poles, and all is covered over with long grass, rushes, and pieces of hides. At a distance the dwelling appears just like a hay-cock. They leave only a small hole on one side about three or four feet high for a door to creep in and out ; but when the wind comes in at this door they stop it

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up, and make another hole in the opposite side. They make the fire in the middle of the house, and the smoke ascends out of the crannies, from all parts of it. They have no beds to lie on, but tumble down at night round the fire.

Their household furniture is commonly an earthen pot or two to boil victuals, and they live very miserably and hard. It is reported that they will fast two or three days together when they travel about the country.

I was told by my Dutch landlord that they kept sheep and bullocks here before the Dutch settled among them ; and that the inland Hottantots have still great stocks of cattle, which they sell for rolls of tobacco. The price for which they sell a cow or sheep is as much twisted tobacco as will reach from the head to the tail ; for they are great lovers of tobacco and will do anything for it. Those of the Hottantots that live near the town have their greatest subsistence from the Dutch, for there is one or more of them belonging to every house. These do all sorts of servile work, and there take their food and grease. They are a very lazy sort of people, and though they live in a delicate country, very fit to be manured, where there is land enough for them, they choose to live rather as their forefathers, poor and miserable, than be at pains for plenty.

Upon our arrival at the Cape, Captain Heath took a house to live in, in order to recover his health. Such of his men as were able did so too, and for the rest he provided lodgings and paid their expenses. Three or four of our men, who came ashore very sick, died, but the rest, by the assistance of the doctors of the fort, a fine air, and good kitchen and cellar physic, soon recovered their health. But we were now so few that we could not sail the ship ; therefore Captain Heath desired the governor to spare him some men, and had a promise to be supplied out of the homeward bound Dutch East India ships that were now expected every day. In the meantime in came the *James*

and *Mary* and the *Josiah* of London, bound home. Out of these we thought to have been furnished with men, but they had only enough for themselves ; therefore we waited yet longer for the Dutch fleet, which at last arrived, but we could get no men from them.

Captain Heath was therefore forced to get men by stealth such as he could pick up, whether soldiers or seamen. The Dutch knew our want of men, therefore nearly forty of them, who designed to return to Europe, came privately and offered themselves, and waited in the night at places appointed, where our boats went and fetched three or four aboard at a time, and hid them, especially when any Dutch boat came aboard our ship.

About the 23rd of May we sailed from the Cape, in the company of the *James and Mary* and the *Josiah*, directing our course towards the Island Santa Hellena, where we arrived the 20th day of June.

This island lies in about 16° South. The air is commonly serene and clear, and the weather is temperate, though so near the Equator, and very healthy. The island is but small, bounded with steep rocks, so that there is no landing except in two or three places. It is said to have been first discovered by the Portuguese and afterwards deserted till the Dutch settled it again. But they afterwards relinquished it for a more convenient place—I mean the Cape of Good Hope. Then the English East India Company settled their servants there, and began to fortify it, but they being yet weak, the Dutch came and retook it about 1672, and kept it in their possession. This news being reported in England, Captain Monday was sent to retake it.

The island has continued ever since in the hands of the English East India Company, and has been greatly strengthened with men and guns, so that at this day it is secure enough from the invasion of any enemy.

We stayed here five or six days ; all which time the islanders left their plantations and lived at the town, to entertain the seamen, who constantly flock ashore to enjoy themselves among their country people. While we stayed here, many of the seamen got sweethearts. One young man belonging to the *James and Mary* was married and brought his wife to England with him.

My stay ashore was but two days, to get refreshment for myself and Jeoly, whom I carried ashore with me. The people of the isle flocked about him, and seemed to admire him very much. This was the last place where I had him at my own disposal, for the mate of the ship, who had Mr Moody's share in him, left him entirely to my management, I being to bring him to England. But I was no sooner arrived in the Thames, but he was sent ashore to be seen by some eminent persons ; and I being in want of money, was prevailed upon to sell first, part of my share in him, and by degrees all of it. After this I heard he was carried about to be shown as a sight, and that he died of the smallpox at Oxford.

But to proceed, our water being filled, and the ship all stocked with fresh provision, we sailed from hence in company of the *Princess Ann*, the *James and Mary*, and the *Josiah*, July 2, 1691, directing our course towards England, and designing to touch nowhere by the way.

We kept with our three consorts till we came near England, and then we were separated by bad weather ; but before we came within sight of land we got together again, all but the *James and Mary*. She got into the Channel before us, and went to Plymouth, and there gave an account of the rest of us ; whereupon our men-of-war who lay there came out to join us, and meeting us, brought us off Plymouth. There the *James and Mary* joined us again, and we all sailed in company of several men-of-war towards Portsmouth. There our first convoy left us, and

went in thither. But we did not want convoys, for our fleets were then repairing to their winter harbours, to be laid up ; so that we had the company of several English ships to the Downs, and a squadron of Dutch also sailed up the Channel, but kept off farther from our English coast, they being bound home to Holland. When we came as high as the South Foreland, we left them standing on their course, keeping on the back of the Goodwin Sands ; and we luffed in for the Downs, where we anchored September 16, 1691.

EXERCISES

1. Contrast the two crossings of the Isthmus of Darien. What special difficulties and dangers attended the second?
2. How does Chapter I help you to form some idea of privateering adventures? Draw a sketch-map to illustrate Dampier's exploits before leaving Captain Sharp.
3. What strikes you most about the description of the Mosquito Indians? Can you account for their hatred of the Spaniards and friendliness toward the buccaneers?
4. Compare Dampier's journal of his land-journey in Chapter III with that of any other explorer. Suggest items that make the former specially interesting.
5. What ideas of the geography of the Isthmus of Darien have you obtained from the above record?
6. Describe a day in the life of a Mosquito 'striker.' Illustrate his special qualities of "art and sagacity."
7. Explain what is meant by 'careening' a ship.
8. Write a short essay on canoes.
9. Sketch a sea-cow (manatee) from Dampier's description.
10. What new light is thrown upon privateering in Chapter IV?
11. Criticize the blowpipe as a native weapon.
12. What interested the author in the Isle of Aves? (You will find this island mentioned in *The Last Buccaneer*, a poem by Charles Kingsley.)
13. Illustrate Dampier's powers of exact description with reference to the cacao-tree.
14. What was specially noteworthy about the voyage recorded in Chapter V? Write a short note on the Straits of Magellan.
15. Imagine you are the Indian left on John Fernando's Isle and recount your experiences. Does this man remind you of any famous character in fiction?
16. Sketch briefly Dampier's association with Captain Cook. What other Captain Cook have you heard of, and why was he famous?

17. What typical buccaneering exploits are described in Chapter VI?
18. Write a short paragraph of information about turtle soup.
19. "Thus our design on Guaiquil failed." Explain briefly the reasons for this failure.
20. What great opportunity of enriching themselves did the buccaneers lose according to Dampier's narrative in Chapter VII?
21. Why were they again disappointed in their designs in the Bay of Panama?
22. Using the information supplied in Chapter VIII, write a short story entitled "Spanish Gold."
23. "Some of our destructive crew." Justify this criticism with reference to privateering exploits ashore.
24. Explain Dampier's reasons for leaving Captain Davis.
25. Justify the title given to Chapter X by showing how the "two different designs" failed.
26. Where is the Valley of Valderas, and what was its importance to the buccaneers?
27. What references are made to slave labour in this book?
28. Account for Captain Swan's desire to undertake a voyage to the East Indies and eventually quit "the privateering trade."
29. Note the reference to trade winds in connexion with the voyage across the Pacific to Guam. What other winds are specially described in this book?
30. Write a short account of the commercial value of the coco-nut.
31. Compare the proes of the East Indies with the canoas of the West Indies, illustrating your remarks by sketches.
32. Draw up a menu of a banquet on the Island of Guam. What items of food would be novelties to most of the crew?
33. Account for the friendly relations between Captain Swan and the Governor of Guam.
34. What trees specially interested Dampier in the Philippines? Quote any details that seem particularly striking.
35. "The betel nut is much esteemed here" (Mindanao). The author makes his first serious mistake in this description. He corrects it later in the book (Chapter XXII). See if you can do so now.

56. What were Dampier's qualifications for the post of gunner at the fort of Bencouli ?
57. Compare the Hottantots with the natives of any other part of the world visited during this voyage.
58. Collect a few of the most important references to the Dutch in South Africa.
59. What is your opinion of Captain Heath ?
60. Mention any references made by Dampier to contemporary history.